

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735-666 Date 5/3/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed
Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE Date

To: From:

Initials of Clerk {
Date {

Date Charged
Employee
Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-154002)

DATE: 11/27/64

FROM: SA PETER J. LEIGHTON (#41)

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS
IS - C

- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (41) b7D
- 1 - NY 100-54555 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-55621 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-100445 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted])
- 1 - NY 100-150459 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-151722 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-106873 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-91911 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-146356 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-152149 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-95014 [redacted] (45)
- 1 - NY 100-139306 [redacted] (45)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (45)
- 1 - NY 100-150735 (MFY) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-145163 [redacted] (45)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (AL LNU) ()
- 1 - NY 100-136399 [redacted] ()
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] ()
- 1 - NY 100-18403 [redacted] (45)
- 1 - NY 100-0-140996 [redacted] ()
- 1 - NY 100-86236 [redacted])
- 1 - NY 100-153872 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-128388 [redacted] (42)
- 1 - NY 100-152081 (CCH) (41)
- 1 - NY 157-892 (RACIAL SITUATION, NYD) (42)
- ① - NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-149176 (INTEGRATED WORKERS) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-147372 (PL) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-154002 (41)

PJL:bam
(31)

WJW

100-153735-667

Searched Indexed
Serialized Filed
NOV 27 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

P. Leighton

NY 100-154002

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info: Rally sponsored by Independent
Committee for Social Progress
at De Witt Reform Church,
11/12/64

b7D

Date Received: 11/19/64

Received By: SA PETER J. LEIGHTON (written)

Original Location: [redacted]

A copy of informant's written report follows:

NY 100-154002

Nov. 13, 1964
New York, New York

On Nov. 12, 1964 there was a rally of the Independent Committee for Social Progress on the lower East Side. This rally was held at the De Witt Reform Church at Columbia and Rivington Sts. About 80 people attended and among those were:

[Redacted]

UMBERTO APONTE - Speaker - Bolivar Douglas Reform Democrats

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

ED SMITH

[Redacted]

JESSE GRAY - speaker

[Redacted]

GILBERTO GERENA VALENTIN - speaker

[Redacted]

- Chairman

- [Redacted]

[Redacted]

CLEVELAND ROBINSON was supposed to speak and it was announced that he was out of town on union business.

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b7C

[Redacted]

also couldn't make it.

[Redacted]

couldn't make it until 11 PM and the meeting adjourned before then.

NY 100-154002

JESSE GRAY called the Daily News a cheap racist rag and Screvene a witch hunter.

GRAY called for a coalition party to be set up and become a third political party in NY. He said that even if the white people hated the Negroes and the Negroes hated the whites they would have to get together because they both hated the landlords. He said that the rent strike had great potential. He said if all the tenants in Harlem would go on rent strike they could get a civilian Review Board or if all tenants would go on rent strike they could force the government to send troops to Mississippi.

[redacted] asked if the Integrated Workers Club of Progressive Labor could come to work in the Independent Committee without being red baited.

[redacted] said that he agreed with her in principal but that the Independent Committee was not yet well enough organized to know just what its policy should be.

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[redacted] said that the PL paper had 1,000 readers and that many of them would help with the work of the Independent Committee.

JESSE GRAY said that hoped that they could prove that Screvene took that \$50,000 bribe because all witch hunters are corrupt.

An appeal for funds for the Committee was made by the Minister and after the plates were passed the second time about \$50.00 was collected.

11/28/64

FBI

Date: 11/28/64

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-442529) and SACS ATLANTA
NEW HAVEN

FROM: SAC NEW YORK (100-153735)

~~CIRM~~

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND NY DATED
NOVEMBER TWENTY SEVEN LAST, AND BUREAU TELEPHONE CALL TO
NY AND NY TELEPHONE CALL TO NEW HAVEN NOVEMBER TWENTY EIGHT
LAST.

REVIEW OF APPROPRIATE FILES NYO AND CONTACT WITH
ESTABLISHED SOURCES FAILED TO REFLECT ANY INFORMATION
CONCERNING IDENTITY OF [] LNU [] FROM STAMFORD,
CONNECTICUT. SOURCES CLOSE TO BAYARD RUSTIN AND []
[] IN NY ALERTED CONCERNING [] LNU [] NEW
HAVEN TELEPHONICALLY REQUESTED TO ADVISE BUREAU, ATLANTA
AND NY OF ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED. NYO WILL
DISCREETLY OBSERVE KING'S ARRIVAL AT KENNEDY AIRPORT MONDAY
EVENING NOVEMBER THIRTY LAST IN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY []
LNU [] AND [] LNU [] WHO ^{are} ~~WAS~~ SCHEDULED TO MEET KING.

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b7c

① New York

HOC:jc
(2)

100-153735-668
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 3 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

Approved: *JFM*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 11/28 M Per now

Del

2-13 EST URGENT 11-28-64 JDW

TO DIRECTOR CHICAGO CINCINNATI AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED ---5---

FROM ATLANTA 280610

CIRM.

AT ONE THREE EIGHT ONE DASH S ASTERICK ADVISED NOVEMBER TWENTYFIVE
LAST THE FOLLOWING ITINERARY FOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AND

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b7c

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER TWENTYNINE, LEAVE ATLANTA SIX THIRTYFIVE AM
DELTA FLIGHT EIGHT TWO, ARRIVE CINCINNATI SEVEN FORTYTHREE AM.

LEAVE DAYTON ELEVEN THIRTYFIVE PM, NOVEMBER TWENTYNINE, ARRIVE
CHICAGO ELEVEN FIFTYNINE PM UNITED FLIGHT EIGHT FOUR SEVEN.

NOVEMBER THIRTY, LEAVE CHICAGO FOUR PM AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT
SEVEN EIGHT ZERO, ARRIVE NEW YORK KENNEDY AIRPORT SIX FORTYEIGHT PM.

DECEMBER ONE, LEAVE NEW YORK EIGHT FORTY PM DELTA AIRLINES FLIGHT
NINE SEVEN THREE, ARRIVE ATLANTA TEN FORTYEIGHT PM.

IF DISSEMINATED, CLASSIFY ~~SECRET~~, TAKE NO ACTION WITHOUT
BUREAU AUTHORITY.

END

NY JAA FOR 2

FBI NEW YORK

100-153735-664

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
NOV 28 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

ack

1:12 PM 11-28-64 URGENT GDC

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM SAC, NEW HAVEN

CIRM

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND NEW YORK, NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN
LAST; BUREAU TELEPHONE CALL TO NEW YORK, NOVEMBER TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT,
AND NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO NEW HAVEN, NOVEMBER TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT.

BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR TWO FIVE TWO NINE.

ESTABLISHED SOURCES AND A REVIEW OF APPROPRIATE FILES

NEW HAVEN OFFICE FAILED TO REFLECT ANY INFORMATION WHICH IDENTIFIES
SUBJECT OF INQUIRY AT STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT, IN ABOVE CAPTIONED MATTER.

ANY INFORMATION COMING TO ATTENTION OF NEW HAVEN IN THIS REGARD
WILL IMMEDIATELY BE FURNISHED TO BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES.

END.

JMS

FBI WASH DC

POV

FBI NEW YORK

0000G

J.C. Stanton
100-153735-670
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
NOV 29 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
J.P.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 09-02-2011

F B I

Date: 11/29/64

42

Transmit the following in ENCODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529) ~~AND~~ SAC, ATLANTA
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CERM.

NY FOUR TWO ONE TWO DASH S ASTERISK ADVISED NOVEMBER TWENTY-NINTH THAT [] OF NEW YORK POST CONTACTED BAYARD RUSTIN CONCERNING PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON AT LBJ RANCH NOVEMBER TWENTY-EIGHTH, AS SET FORTH IN NEW YORK TIMES NOVEMBER TWENTY-NINTH, SIXTY-FOUR, SECTION ONE, PAGE SIXTY-NINE. [] READ TO RUSTIN PERTINENT PORTIONS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ANSWERS TO PRESS CONFERENCE MADE EXTENDED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING CONCERNING DIRECTOR, FBI IN HARVARD RUSTIN COMMENTED THAT THERE IS A POLITICAL PROBLEM WHICH IS OBSCURED BY THIS KIND OF QUOTES DOUBLE TALK END QUOTES; THAT DOCTOR KING PRESENTS MATERIAL TO THE FBI WHICH IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FBI TO CONSCIENTIOUSLY INVESTIGATE; THAT AT THE POINT WHERE J. EDGAR HOOVER CALLS MARTIN LUTHER KING A LIAR, THEN WHAT HE IS SAYING IS THAT HE FEELS NO OBLIGATION TO INVESTIGATE THE MATERIAL WHICH DOCTOR KING PUTS BEFORE HIM; THEREFORE QUOTES I AM STILL OF THE OPINION THAT MR. HOOVER'S USEFULNESS IS FINISHED; BECAUSE IF A LIAR SENDS YOU MATERIAL, WHY SHOULD YOU INVESTIGATE IT? THEREFORE I DO NOT NOW THINK THAT HE IS IN THE POSITION TO TAKE SERIOUSLY ONE OF THE

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b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 6080 on 12/1/77
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM 11 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION
code

VJA:
(2)

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

1 - Supv. 42
Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 11 0 M Per [Signature]

11/29/64-153735-671

SOURCES FOR REPORTING BRUTALITY AGAINST THE NEGRO PEOPLE. I DO NOT FEEL THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS DEALT WITH ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ POLITICAL PROBLEM; IT IS NOT A PROBLEM OF PERSONALITIES--IT IS A PROBLEM AS TO WHETHER A RESPONSIBLE LEADER GIVES MATERIAL WHICH IS GOING TO BE FULLY INVESTIGATED, AND I THINK PRESIDENT JOHNSON OBSCURES, BY RAISING PERSONALITIES, THE POLITICAL PROBLEM INVOLVED. I DO NOT SEE HOW MR. HOOVER IS IN ANY POSITION NOW TO INVESTIGATE MATERIAL, BECAUSE HE FEELS THAT THE PEOPLE WHO PRESENT IT ARE LIARS; THEREFORE BEFORE EXAMINATION HE HAS ALREADY MADE A JUDGMENT, AND THIS IS A SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEM WHICH THE PRESIDENT IGNORES. END QUOTES. ~~COPY AIRMAIL TO SAC, ATLANTA.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
~~SECRET~~
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
 File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
 FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
 DATE 09-02-2011

New York, New York
 November 30, 1964

Bureau 100-442529

Re: Communist Influence In Racial Matters
 Internal Security - C

On November 24, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which reflected that Martin Luther King, Jr. (President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) (SCLC) was in contact with [redacted] on that date. King advised that he was in the process of writing his speeches which he would deliver in Oslo, Norway (where he will receive the Nobel Peace Prize in December, 1964). He said "they" (officials in Norway) have two speeches which are customarily made by recipients of the prize: the Nobel lecture, 45 minutes in length and given the night following the Nobel Presentation; and a five minute speech at the time of the Presentation. King said he had been working on the forty five minute speech but had done nothing on the five minute speech, therefore, he had in mind asking three people to put on paper what they felt he should say during the five minute speech. He said he was of the opinion that those remarks would be quoted in full and in that regard, told [redacted] that he wanted him to think [redacted] (his speech) through with "our friend" the kind of thing that he should say from the platform. King requested that [redacted] the speech he sent to his house by Saturday (November 28, 1964). [redacted] agreed to comply.

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 b7c

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
 Group I
 Excluded from automatic
 downgrading and
 declassification

Searched
 Indexed
 Filed

100-153725-622

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

King told Jones that he would also ask [redacted] and Harry Wachtel to prepare five minute speeches and from those he would decide the best thing to say.

In continuing their contact, King said he would leave Atlanta, Georgia, on Sunday (November 29, 1964), to go to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he would speak; will go to Stamford, Connecticut, on Monday (November 30, 1964); return to Atlanta on that date and remain until Thursday, when he will go to New York.

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While in New York, the following affairs will be held in his honor, according to King: a dinner at [redacted] home on December 3, 1964; a luncheon on December 4, given by Secretary General U. Thant; and a reception that night given by United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson.

the

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]
to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights,
15 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past; advised on February 26, 1957, that he identified a photograph of [REDACTED] as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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b7C

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

It is to be noted that when King and [] refer to "Our friend", they are referring to Stanley Levison.

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A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party (CP) for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, Kings Point, Long Island, N.Y.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information in December, 1949, that Harry H. Wachtel, 41 Broad Street, New York, N.Y., was on a list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which revealed that the name Harry Wachtel was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court St., Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding Harry Wachtel [redacted] it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed that her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

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~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

* * *

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 11/30/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via ^{OK} AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

Re New York teletype dated 11/25/64, captioned as above.

Enclosed are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum, captioned and dated as above.

The source of the information in the letterhead memorandum was NY 4099-S*, a source close to [redacted]

The source who characterized [redacted] was [redacted]

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NY 694-S* was the source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON.

- 6 - Bureau (100-442529) (Encls. 8) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
 - (1 - 100-407018) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
 - (1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)
- 1 - New York (100-73250) [redacted] (42)
- 1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (42)

b6
b7C

JMK:gmd
(14)

100-153735-623

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
42 NOV 30 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Jup
W. EATON, J. DeJ

Approved: _____ Sent _____
Special Agent in Charge

[Handwritten signature]

NY 100-153735

HARRY WACHTEL, was characterized by:

1. Anonymous source of WFO, set out in report of SA [redacted] 2/19/54, at WFO, re: "NLG; IS-C".
2. NY 1190-S*.

This letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 4099-S* and NY 694-S*. NY 4099-S* has furnished information of a highly sensitive nature about the racial situation in the New York area. NY 694-S* furnished a concentration of information in documenting STANLEY LEVISON. In view of these reasons, the "~~Secret~~" classification is used.

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b7c

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)
FROM : SA ARTHUR J. GREENE, JR. (# 44)
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP

DATE: 11/30/64

Date received 11/24/64	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px;"></div>	Received by SA ARTHUR J. GREENE, JR. b7D
---------------------------	---	--

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks):
 in person
 by telephone
 by mail
 orally
 recording device
 written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date
Dictated _____ to _____
Transcribed _____
Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report
11/22/64

Date(s) of activity
11/20/64

Brief description of activity or material
Miscellaneous info SWP.

File where original is located if not attached b7D

Remarks:

- 1 - NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - (TMV) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-108956 (44)
- 1 - NY 100- (44)
- 1 - NY 100-146275 (46)
- 1 - NY 100-151715 (FREEDOM NOW PARTY) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-4013 (44)

b6
b7C
b7D

AJG:mje
(7)

Block Stamp

100-153735-674

INDEXED

Heaton

NY 100-4013

Report Written November 22, 1961

[redacted] (# 7)

[redacted]
November 20, 1964

There was seen a copy of the minutes of the October 9 Political Committee meeting of the SWP. The theme of this meeting was the "penetration of the Negro struggle" via "propagandistic" means.

b6
b7C

The following notation was seen on a slip of paper:

[redacted]
WORLD TELEGRAM
BA 7-3211

(Since [redacted] had mentioned at one time that a had a friend who worked for a newspaper, this may be he.)

[redacted] said that the SWP has given help to [redacted] and the Freedom Now Party. He said that [redacted] problem is that he is a loner and cannot work with a group of people."

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[redacted] also said that formerly the SWP's program was to send a cadre of "comrades" into a union. Now, the setup is to have "comrades" working in other areas besides unions and the labor movement (i.e., Negro movement, youth movement). He said that "one well-trained "comrade" in the right place at the right time is worth more than 1,000 'comrades'."

He also said he had been a member of two unions: Maritime Union and Longshoremen's Union.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

12/1/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM

ReBulet to NY, 11/20/64, and NY airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 11/10/64.

On 11/7/64, HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN engaged in a conversation which according to the source, NY 4212-S*, concerned in part MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.'s trip to Oslo, Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. RUSTIN inquired about going to Oslo, and WACHTEL suggested RUSTIN do as he had done. WACHTEL stated that he told KING that he has "my resignation in your pocket" as far as going is concerned, and WACHTEL further stated he would not feel bad if KING thought his (WACHTEL's) presence might cause KING some embarrassment and cause KING to accept the resignation.

The phrase "my resignation in your pocket" suggests several possibilities regarding HARRY WACHTEL.

One possibility which would seem worthy of consideration is that MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr. might be concerned over the size of the entourage which he plans to take with him to Oslo for the presentation of the Nobel Prize. It could very well be that KING and some of his advisers feel that he (KING) could conceivably be vulnerable for criticism if it became known that such a large group was accompanying him on a trip which obviously will require a large amount of money to finance. WACHTEL, realizing that a delicate situation might be created by even the slightest suggestion that SCLC (an organization presumably dedicated to civil rights) funds were being used to finance an expensive pleasure trip to Europe for a number of individuals, might have indicated to KING that he would be willing to tender his resignation, if by so doing it might help to avoid any embarrassment to KING. This possibility would seem worthy of credence in view of the fact that

2-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)

1-New York (100-153735)

JCS:rmv.

(3)

100-153735-675

SEARCHED
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INDEXED
FILED

820

NY 100-153735

when the resignation phrase was used, WACHTEL and RUSTIN were discussing the group going to Oslo and those who would be available to go, and nothing was specifically said about anything in the backgrounds of WACHTEL or RUSTIN which might prove to be embarrassing to KING.

Another possibility which arises, as the Bureau suggested in the letter dated 11/20/64, is that HARRY WACHTEL has a "skeleton in his closet" something (possibly of a security nature) in his background which conceivably could be embarrassing to KING if it was made public. It is to be noted in this regard that HARRY WACHTEL and KING have freely communicated with one another and that KING, on several occasions, has met with WACHTEL and others in WACHTEL's office with no apparent attempt to conceal KING's presence there. It would seem inconsistent for WACHTEL at this time to bring up a matter relating to his (WACHTEL's) past in view of the close association he has had with KING over the past year which has included several meetings in New York, a meeting in Atlanta, and an appearance before the Supreme Court in Washington, in which WACHTEL represented KING.

In accordance with the instructions contained in Bulet dated 11/20/64, NYO is reviewing appropriate files in an effort to locate individuals in the Bath Beach Club of the CP who might be in a position to furnish information concerning WACHTEL.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, BALTIMORE

DATE: 12/1/64

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-97078)

SUBJECT: SWP - NY LOCAL
IS - SWP

- 1 - Baltimore (100-) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
- 2 - Boston (100-442) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 100-23224) [redacted]
- 2 - Chicago (65-645) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 100-) [redacted]
- 1 - Denver (100-1334) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-2650) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-5238) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-) [redacted] (Info)(RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (100-2036) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 100-43269) (YSA)
- 1 - San Francisco (61-380) (SWP)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - [redacted] (44)
- 1 - NY 100-80172 ([redacted]) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-99564 ([redacted]) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-26400 ([redacted]) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-69167 ([redacted]) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-117461 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-135101 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-152062 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-147957 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-146125 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 105-56650 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-151625 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-115760 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-140645 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-84588 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-93735 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-134938 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-153227 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-153409 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-134208 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-111766 [redacted] (44)
- 1 - NY 100-153352 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-150169 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-148705 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-145809 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-142656 [redacted]

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1 - NY 100-97078 (44)

AJG:bam
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Yam

100-153735-626

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NY 100-97078

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1 - NY 100-152024)
1 - NY 100-141153)
1 - NY 100-147905 (4)
1 - NY 100-112275)
1 - NY 100-153398)
1 - NY 100-131823)
1 - NY 100-133074 (4)
1 - NY 100-96539)
1 - NY 100-149325)
1 - NY 100-92522 (BERTA GREEN) (44)
1 - NY 100-7388 (4)
1 - NY 100-59481)
1 - NY 100-93572 (NATIONAL GUARDIAN) (41)
1 - NY 100-152079)
1 - NY 100-112158)
1 - NY 100-133460)
1 - NY 100-118388 (44)
1 - NY 100-132776 (44)
1 - NY 100-60071)
1 - NY 100-133479 (YSA) (44)
1 - NY 100-153351 (44)
1 - NY 100-152371 (44)
1 - NY 100-153719)
1 - NY 100-) (44)
1 - NY 100-154171)
1 - NY 105-7809 (NOI) (43)
1 - NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)

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NY 100-97078

Identity of Source: who has furnished
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info: Meeting NY Local, SWP,
11/13/64, 116 University Pl.,
NYC

b7D

Date Received: 11/16/64

Received By: SA ARTHUR J. GREENE, JR.
(written)

Original Location:

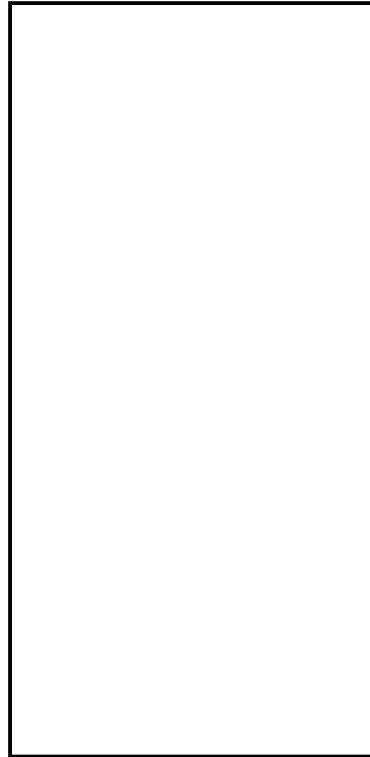
A copy of informant's written report follows:

NY 100-97078

Report Written November 15, 1964

Closed Membership Branch Meeting
New York Local of the SWP
116 University Place, New York City
November 13, 1964, 8:00 p.m. - 10:15 p.m.

The following were present:



BERTA GREEN

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Agenda

[Redacted]
Recording Secretary: [Redacted]

- I. Reading and adoption of minutes of prior week's meeting

NY 100-97078

II. Announcements

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A. From: [REDACTED]

1. 100 persons attended Friday, November 6 Forum at which FARRELL DOBBS spoke on "Crisis in the Kremlin;" 44 of those who attended were SWP "Comrades".

2. Friday, November 13 Forum will be a talk by [REDACTED] on "Revolution in Seattle".

B. Book Bazaar: [REDACTED]

1. It will begin on Saturday, November 14 at 12 noon. Refreshments will be served at 6:00 p.m. followed by an auction at 8:30 p.m. of rare (or other types) Marxist literature.

C. Thanksgiving Dinner: [REDACTED]

1. She asked for volunteers to watch children for those "comrades" who could not otherwise attend

(a) At this point, when not many were volunteering, [REDACTED] was a little irate, stating that she "never asked anyone to watch my kid" and she announced that she now works "full time for the Party."

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D. ART PRICE Reception

1. It will take place on November 21 at 6:00 p.m. at 116 University Place. The younger "comrades" were urged to attend, especially since ART PRICE would like to meet them (As a result of diabetes, ART PRICE has had both legs amputated and he is completely deaf. He also has a bad hand but he instinctively will reach out to shake hands but members were told to just let him clasp their hands as it would be painful to him if his hand were shaken).

NY 100-97078

E. [redacted] announced that an advertisement for ART PRICE's book, "Labor's Giants", had been placed in this week's issue of The Nation and the National Guardian.

III. Executive Report: [redacted]

A. The following were excused from this meeting:



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B. The election campaign will be discussed as the Educational part of the December 3 Branch meeting.

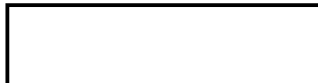
C. [redacted] spoke about the reception for ART PRICE, saying that the desire to complete this book is what kept him alive. This is ART PRICE's first public appearance in a long time. He will be in a wheelchair.

D. Pioneer Publications is expanding its publications and an inventory must be taken on Sunday, November 15 at 11:00 a.m. Volunteers were asked to do this job. (SWP and YSA volunteers).

E. [redacted] also said that he called the Election Bureau and was told that if the SWP wants the election results, it will have to send someone down to the Election Bureau in one month's time.

IV. Intermission and payment of dues

A. The following came in at intermission for the Educational:



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NY 100-97078

V. Educational

A. CLIFTON DE BERRY gave a report of his national election tour. He mentioned speaking at Amherst College in Massachusetts where he addressed an audience of over 500 students and received a two-minute standing ovation. He also mentioned that when he spoke in Boston, also on the speaking program there was a young Negro man who had been to Cuba this past summer. CLIFTON DE BERRY also said he spoke in Philadelphia. He said that a YSA Branch has just been formed in Philadelphia and the entire group is comprised of 3 students at the University of Pennsylvania. DE BERRY mentioned that [redacted] drove him from Philadelphia to Baltimore. It is believed that while in Baltimore he had dinner at the home of a prominent (?) Leader of the Negro Community there, at which were present various Negro hoodlums who were awed by the fact that DE BERRY was a Presidential candidate, being that he is a Negro. DE BERRY mentioned names of exclusive colleges he spoke at, some of which were located out of Chicago. He spoke at Albion Junior College (which may be located either in Chicago or Detroit). He spoke at the University of Denver and at Boulder College. He was also in Los Angeles and Berkeley, California. DE BERRY said he believes that the "quality and caliber" of the young people that the SWP has attracted during the 1964 campaign is "higher" and that the 1964 election vote, though it may be smaller than the 1960 vote, has more "meaning than the 1960 vote because these are "conscious votes" and not "protest votes". DE BERRY mentioned in the question period following his talk that only one reporter on the entire tour mentioned the Life Magazine picture of LEE OSWALD holding a copy of the Militant and asked him if OSWALD was a member of the SWP. DE BERRY also mentioned during his talk that he saw more Negroes attend meetings where he spoke during this tour than in his spring tour. He also said that more Negroes participated in the question periods of his current tour than in the spring tour.

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He also mentioned that somewhere along his tour a Muslim photographer took his picture for Muhammad Speaks. DE BERRY also made the stated that "people are no longer fooled by the old shell game of the two capitalist parties".

NY 100-97078

Addenda to Report
of November 12 Meeting

1. There was some sort of meeting going on at 116 University Place following the Branch meeting. The following were at this meeting: [redacted]

2. The following were seen at 116 University Place that evening, after the Branch meeting:

a. [redacted] He was seen at the recent YSA Youth Conference (Negro, may be new YSA member, about 20, 5'8" tall, medium build).

b. [redacted]
c. [redacted]
d. [redacted]

*3. [redacted] said he will be moving soon to a new apartment on [redacted] and [redacted]. He will be living there "with another guy". He said that [redacted] is living in the old apartment they had both shared - [redacted] has sublet it.

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4. It was mentioned at the Branch meeting that [redacted] and [redacted] are the YSA "uptown organizers".

*5. [redacted] have not moved from their apartment at [redacted]

*6. [redacted] had an eyeglass case in his jacket pocket with the following inscription:

F & G Eyeglasses (F & G Opticians, Inc.)
[redacted]

SAC, Atlanta (100-6670)

12/1/64

Director, FBI (100-442523)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

CIRM

The following observations are being made to recipient offices for the purpose of improving the administrative handling of information being developed in connection with captioned matter, investigation concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., and related matters. These observations are particularly applicable to information being constantly received through highly sensitive coverage concerning CIRM, King and related matters.

Frequently pertinent information received by the field is immediately furnished the Bureau by teletype, radiogram or telephone and subsequently followed up by airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM). It is absolutely imperative that the follow-up communications always make reference to the prior communications furnishing the same information but usually in a briefer form. This is not being done in every instance. For example, on 11/20/64 the Atlanta Office telephonically advised the Bureau of information obtained from AT 1379-S* which consisted of certain reactions of the wife and father of King. Airtel 11/24/64 submitted a LHM of same date which was the follow-up communication. The airtel, however, failed to reference the telephone call.

The sensitive sources referred to above frequently furnish information on a variety of subject matters although the information, in a general way, concerns CIRM and King. For example, at the present time considerable intelligence is being obtained concerning plans of King and his Party to go abroad; reactions and strategy of King and his advisors concerning a recent statement by me concerning King; plans of King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference for activities in the racial field; and discussions by King and his associates concerning various civil rights investigations.

100-153735-677

② - New York (100-153735) (PERSONAL ATTENTION SAC DORNY)

Seaton
Hiby
O'Connell

Letter to SAC, Atlanta

RE: OIRL
100-442329

Sometimes discussion concerning two or more of the above matters takes place during a single conversation. The usual practice has been for such information to be incorporated into a single IIRL because it was obtained either on the same occasion, through the same source, or for some other administrative expediency.

Because the Bureau's dissemination of information in the indicated areas frequently varies, it is highly desirable that information pertaining to different subject matters be submitted in separate letterhead memoranda. To do so will enable the Bureau to make dissemination more promptly and will guard against the possibility of disseminating information which does not merit dissemination. In considering the foregoing it should also be noted that the caption "OIRL" should not be used indiscriminately as a "catch-all" but should be used only when justified.

The Bureau appreciates the efforts being made by recipient offices in connection with handling the matters referred to and foregoing observations are being made in an effort to even further improve the Bureau's over-all discharge of its responsibilities. This communication should be brought to the attention of all Agent and supervisory personnel handling the matters referred to.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-54303) 46

12/1/64

SA [redacted]

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[redacted]

SM - 0

Captioned subject is included in the Security Index of the NYO.

b7D

On 11/19/64, [redacted] advised that the subject was present at regular meetings of the Staten Island Chapter, CORE, held at the Markham Pouses Community Center, West Brighton, Staten Island, on 11/10/64 and 11/17/64. Informant stated that the subject took no active participation in the meetings.

- 1 - [redacted] (Inv) 46
 - 1 - 100-153249 (Comm'l, S.I. CORE) 41
 - 1 - 100-153735 (OTHER) 42
- VJS:

b7D

100-153735-678

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

1242PM URGENT 12-1-64 LAC

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK --15--

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON -ENCODED
FROM NEW HAVEN 011600 2P

GIRM-- MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RACIAL MATTERS.

RE TELEPHONE CALL THIS DATE FROM ASAC BAKER TO INSPECTOR
SIZOO.

ESTABLISHED SOURCES ADVISED THAT SUBJECT AT PRESS CONFERENCE
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT, NOVEMBER THIRTY NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR STATED HE
WOULD NO LONGER ENGAGE IN CONTROVERSY WITH FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER
AND WOULD SEEK A MEETING WITH HOOVER TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES. KING
STATED HE THOUGHT TIME HAD COME TO "ALL OF US TO GET ON WITH
THE LARGER JOB OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT."

KING HONORED AT PUBLIC MEETING HELD EVENING NOVEMBER THIRTY
NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT HIGH SCHOOL AT WHICH
NEARLY TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE PRESENT. KING, IN ADDRESS
CITED RECENT GAINS MADE
BY NEGRO SUCH AS INCREASED EARNING POWER, REGISTRATION
OF OVER TWO MILLION NEGRO VOTERS IN SOUTH, ABATING OF LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH
END PAGE ONE

100-153735-5679

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

[Handwritten signature]

PAGE TWO

AND

SURPRISING DEGREE OF COMPLIANCE WITH NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW, ESPECIALLY PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS LAW. KING POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, NEGROES STILL DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, STILL FOUR MILLION UNREGISTERED NEGROES IN SOUTH, STILL SALARY DIFFERENTIAL FOR THE WHITE AND NEGRO AND STILL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO IN HOUSING.

CITIZENS ANTICOMMUNIST COMMITTEE OF CONNECTICUT, AND ORGANIZATION KNOWN TO BUREAU, AFTER ADVISING STAMFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT OF INTENTION, DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS IN FRONT OF STAMFORD HIGH SCHOOL CHARGING KING WITH ATTENDING COMMUNIST PARTY TRAINING SCHOOL. NO INCIDENTS AROSE FROM THIS DISTRIBUTION. KING MET AT KENNEDY AIRPORT, NEW YORK, BY [REDACTED] OFFICIAL PITNEY - BOWES, INC., STAMFORD, AND CHESTER ADDISON, STAMFORD POLICE COMMISSIONER. ALSO MEETING KING AT AIRPORT WAS BAYARD RUSTIN, NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER AND ONE AL LAST NAME UNKNOWN DESCRIBED AS NEGRO PRESS AGENT FROM NEW YORK CITY.

KING, AFTER PUBLIC MEETING, STAYED OVERNIGHT AT RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] THIRD, STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT.

ATLANTA ADVISED BY MAIL.

END

JLW

FBI NEW YORK

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File-Serial Charge Out

FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-10-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735-680 thru 689 Date 5/3/77

Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

F B I NEW YORK

Date: 12-2-64

Transmit the following in ENCODED
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA
FROM NEW YORK 2 P

CIRM.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. - IS-C.

NY FOUR ZERO NINE TWO DASH S ASTERISK ADVISED ON DEC. ONE SIXTY
FOUR THAT [REDACTED] THE GANDHI SOCIETY FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS, FIFTEEN EAST FOUR ZERO STREET, NYC, IN COMMENTING ON KING-S
MEETING WITH MR. HOOVER SAID THAT THERE IS A LIKELYHOOD THAT A SMEAR
CAMPAIGN WILL BE CONDUCTED AGAINST KING ON THE BASIS OF BEING INVOLVED
WITH COMMUNISTS, BUT MORE IMPORTANT THE NEW ELEMENT OF CONSORTING WITH
IMMORAL WOMEN. [REDACTED] INDICATED THAT KING HAD BEEN ADVISED OF THIS
/DURING HIS TALK WITH MR. HOOVER/. HE FEELS IT WILL NOT BE TAKEN TOO
CHARITABLY BY MANY PEOPLE AND IT WILL HAVE AN IMPACT. HE SAID THAT
HAVING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AND HAVING THREE OR FOUR MISTRESSES DOESN-T
GO WELL. *LHM Follows*

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b7c

END ~~PAGE ONE~~

- ① - New York (100-153735)
- 1 - New York (100-136585)
- (3)
- JFN:jaa
- 1 - Supv. #42

[Handwritten signatures and stamps]
 Searched _____
 Indexed _____
 Filed _____

100-153735-690

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent *12/2* M Per *[Signature]*

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

68-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735-691 sub 694 Date 5/3/77

Class: Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
Bufile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To

From

Initial of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-153735)

DATE: 12/2/64

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON, #42

SUBJECT: CIRM

Fifty-six (56) Xerox copies of memorandum by SA JOHN C. SEATON dated 11/20/64 will be required in order to open sub-files in the CIRM Case for the purpose of receiving quarterly reports which will be submitted by all offices.

*Done KJK
12/2/64*

J.C. Seaton
J.C. Seaton
100-153735-695
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
DEC 2 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
J.C. Seaton



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

DEC 2 1964

TO: SAC, BOSTON

DATE:

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-97078)

SUBJECT: SWP - NY LOCAL
IS - SWP

- 3 - Boston (100-442) (SWP) (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
- 1 - Buffalo (100- [redacted]) (SWP) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-1334) (SWP) (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-41323) [redacted] (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-2036) (SWP) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - [redacted] (44)
- 1 - NY 100-147905 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-93735 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-93935 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-142656 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-148705 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-145809 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-26400 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-69167 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 105-45966 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-99564 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-117461 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-135101 [redacted] (4)
- 1 - NY 100-84599 [redacted] (44)
- 1 - NY 100-88074 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-134208 (CLIFTON DE BERRY) (44)
- 1 - NY 100-112158 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-133460 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-147957 [redacted] (44)
- 1 - NY 100-140515 [redacted] (4)
- 1 - NY 100-153398 [redacted] (4)
- 1 - NY 100-146125 [redacted] (44)
- 1 - NY 100-141153 [redacted] (4)
- 1 - NY 100-140516 [redacted] (4)
- 1 - NY 100-150533 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-118388 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-80679 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-137138 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-119289 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-112275 [redacted]

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(72) *jam*

100-153735-696
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
[Signature]

NY 100-97078

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1 - NY 100-92522 (BERTA GREEN) (44)
1 - NY 105-60071 [REDACTED] 4)
1 - NY 100-153352 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-149325 [REDACTED] 4)
1 - NY 100-108956 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-152079 [REDACTED] 4)
1 - NY 100-115760 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-145486 (JAMES SHABAZZ) (43)
1 - NY 100-133479 (YSA) (44)
1 - NY 100-146029 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-107810 [REDACTED] 4)
1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] 4)
1 - NY 100-7388 (FARRELL DOBBS) (44)
1 - NY 100-137560 (PETE CAMEJO) (44)
1 - NY 100-152062 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-153351 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-153409 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-111294 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-111766 [REDACTED] BERRY) (44)
1 - NY 100-84574 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-153227 [REDACTED] 44)
1 - NY 100-93572 (NATIONAL GUARDIAN) (41)
1 - NY 100-8414 (YPSL) (44)
1 - NY 100-152754 (REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE FOR THE 4TH INTER-
NATIONAL) (44)
1 - NY 100-147372 (PL) (44)
1 - NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM X) (43)
1 - NY 100-151715 (FREEDOM NOW PARTY) (43)
1 - NY 100-143654 [REDACTED] (44)
1 - NY 100-126741 [REDACTED] 44)
① - NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)

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NY 100-97078

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info: Meeting NY Local, SWP, 10/29/6
116 University Pl., NYC

b7D

Date Received: 11/19/64

Received By: SA ARTHUR J. GREENE, JR. (write)

Original Location: [redacted]

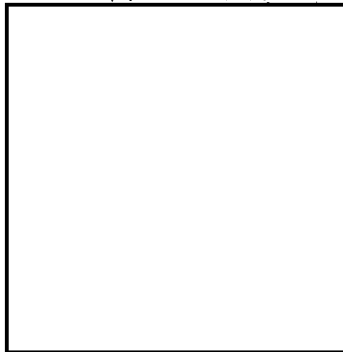
A copy of informant's written report follows:

NY 100-97078

Report Written November 2, 1964

Closed Membership Branch Meeting
New York Local of the SWP
116 University Place, New York City
October 29, 1964, 8:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

The following were present:



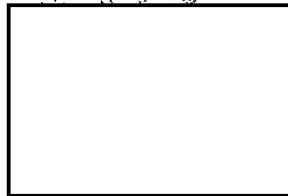
BEN STONE



CLIFTON DE BERRY

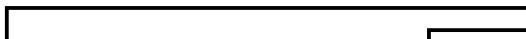


BERTA GREEN




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Agenda



Recording Secretary:



- I. Reading and adoption of minutes of October 22 Branch Meeting
- II. Announcements
 - A. Literature: 

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NY 100-97078

1. There is a pamphlet out by [redacted] entitled "The Black Ghetto", with a preface by JAMES SHABAZZ.

B. Forum: None because of the YSA Youth Conference.

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C. Sunday afternoon (November 1) halloween party for children at the home of [redacted] and [redacted]

D. SWP will have an advertisement in the New York Times.

E. Announcement of television and radio broadcasts

1. Friday, October 23 - (11:40 p.m. to 1:00 a.m.) WINS Radio Murray Brunell Show - SWP members urged to telephone the show and submit questions - JU 2-7262

2. Rochester - WBDF Radio - Monday, October 26, 11:30 p.m. to midnight

3. National networks: Sunday, October 25, ABC - TV - "Issues and Answers"

4. Thursday, October 29, NBC - "Today"

*5. Thursday, October 29, WNDT-TV, Channel 13, "World at Ten" (CLIFTON DE BERRY speaking).

6. Friday, October 23, WBAI Radio, 9:30 a.m.

7. National network: Sunday, November 1, NBC-TV, Channel 4, 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m. - "Direct Line" - Confrontation with Kennedy and Keating (It may be noted that Senator Kennedy did not speak then. RICHARD GARZA was on this program)

NY 100-97078

8. Rochester - 1 minute announcements (averaging to about 4 per day)

F. SWP Election Raffle: [redacted] (The prize is a subscription to Pioneer publication) (fifty cents per bet on number of votes SWP will get)

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III. Youth Report: [redacted]

A. He named assignments for Friday evening session of Conference.

B. 15,000 election leaflets were distributed last week, mostly in Harlem

C. Midwest Conference: [redacted]

1. 180 registered and 105 attended

2. [redacted] spoke and received enthusiastic support from the audience

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*3. JAMES SHABAZZ was in the audience

D. Continuing with his report, [redacted] called for volunteers to distribute more leaflets and election platforms

E. There was a successful street meeting at Columbia University last Monday, October 26

Note: [redacted] is in charge of putting up out-of-town people for the Conference. She said they got about 60 responses to the weekend Conference, that 30 will be coming from Boston and anywhere from 5 to 25 will be coming from Philadelphia.

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IV. Executive Committee Report: [redacted]

A. In response to [redacted] request at last Thursday's meeting (October 22) that there be open Party discussion on the question of the Khrushchev ouster and China exploding an A-bomb, [redacted] said "it was decided

NY 100-97078

that Party discussion was not necessary since FARRELL DOBBS, the National Secretariat", was going to give a Forum on this, next Friday, November 6.

B. [] asked for volunteers to distribute leaflets and platforms

C. [] announced that CLIFTON DE BERRY was to speak on T.V. at 10:00 p.m. that evening on Channel 13, and that the SWP had obtained a T.V. set so everyone there at the meeting could see and hear him.

Note: The following were excused from the meeting:

[] working
however he came in at the Educational
} "on assignment at Columbia
} University"
although he attended the meeting, he
left early because he had to make TV
arrangements

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b7C

[] babysitting

Note: [] announced that []
from Detroit, would arrive on Saturday, October 31, at 10:43 a.
at Newark Airport (It may be noted here that []
did not appear at the Conference, the reason given that []
[] was campaigning in Detroit that weekend)

Note: The Sunday, November 1, 11:00 a.m. section of
Conference will take place at 116 University Place

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*Note: It was announced that [] will leave
New York City on Friday, October 31 at 5:30 a.m. for Dunkirk,
New York (it is believed this is for a radio or TV appearance)

*Note: It was announced that there were many letter
responses, directed to 116 University Place, to []
spot announcements in Rochester and that many Negroes were
writing to 116 University Place.

NY 100-97078

V. Intermission and payment of dues

A. The following came in at intermission for the Educational:

1. [redacted]
2. [redacted]

VI. Educational: [redacted] and [redacted]

A. [redacted] spoke on "Where the Other Radical Groups Stand on the Election"

1. He mentioned that the National Guardian has lost many of its "wealthy Stalinist supporters because it will not support Lyndon B. Johnson".

2. He said with reference to the Communist Party, Progressive Labor and the Marcyites - none are in favor of "independent political action".

*Note: [redacted] mentioned that YPSL (the expelled youth league of the Socialist Party) wrote a letter recently stating why they would not support the SWP: Because the SWP expelled the Spartacists and because they (YPSL) consider the SWP to be "reformist" and that it will always be so.

* YPSL considers the SWP to be "reformist" because it supports MALCOLM X and Black Nationalism.).

Note: It was mentioned that the Spartacists and Progressive Labor want to see the SWP defeated.

Note: [redacted] mentioned Progressive Labor's rally in a derisive manner because PL formed an "ad hoc committee" against fascism.

B. [redacted] gave a summary of the National Guardian's rally on the left ("The Presidential Elections ... and Beyond") held at the Henry Hudson Hotel on Wednesday evening, October 28.

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b7c

NY 100-97078

1. [redacted] represented the SWP.
Other speakers were:

[redacted] surname)

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b7c

2. [redacted] said about 500 attended, mostly middle-aged "Stalinist and Guardian types".

3. [redacted] said that none of the above speakers would support the SWP or "independent political action".

Note: It was mentioned to support "CLIFTON DE BERRY and the Freedom Now Party".

Note: It was mentioned that the Daily News has come out for neither Johnson nor Goldwater.

Note: There is an excerpt from the October 29 issue of the New York Post on De Berry on the bulletin board in the Forum Hall.

VII. Adjournment

A. The meeting adjourned promptly at 10:00 p.m. in order to tune in on CLIFTON DE BERRY's television talk.

1. DE BERRY made the following statements:

a. "The capitalist system thrives on War and produces racism and has done nothing about unemployment."

b. "Neither the Democratic nor Republican parties has dealt with the real issues in this campaign - both just practice mudslinging".

NY 100-97078

2. He mentioned that people who want to receive election material should write to 116 University Place.

Addenda

1. [redacted] from Boston, will be staying at the home of [redacted] the weekend of the Youth Conference.

*2. [redacted] was excused from the meeting because he was being interviewed by the New York Times.

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*3. [redacted] said that WALTER KRONKITE and ERIC SEVEREID, news commentators, stated that the SWP "are the only revolutionists and is the only Party that is a threat to the Democratic and Republican parties.

*4. Note: Addendum to Thursday, October 22 Branch Meeting report: It was mentioned, it is believed by PETER CAMEJO, that the YSA is not allowed to use the meeting rooms at Columbia University and City College (for election campaign meetings)

5. [redacted] (under his real first name begins with E and hers - [redacted] have a joint checking account at First National City Bank Park Avenue and 57th Street Branch.

6. [redacted] had an eyeglass case from F&G Opticians, Inc., [redacted]

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The following names will be indexed to captioned file

FNU
FNU
FNU



F B I

Date: 12/3/64

PLAIN TEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735) (#42)
CIRM.

NY FOUR TWO ONE TWO DASH S ASTERISK ADVISED ON TWELVE
THREE, SIXTY FOUR, BAYARD RUSTIN IN CONTACT WITH [REDACTED]
(AN ASSOCIATE) DURING WHICH TIME THEY DISCUSSED A PRESS CONFERENCE
OF MARTIN LUTHER KING SCHEDULED FOR TWELVE FOUR, SIXTY FOUR.
RUSTIN INSTRUCTED [REDACTED] THAT WITH REGARD TO A LIST OF THINGS
THAT SHOULD BE DONE CONCERNING THE PRESS CONFERENCE, HE SHOULD
SAY THAT KING WILL NOT BE DRAWN INTO ANYTHING WITH REGARD TO
J. EDGAR HOOVER.

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THE SAME SOURCE ADVISED THAT RUSTIN WAS IN CONTACT
WITH A [REDACTED] IN LONDON, ENGLAND, ON THAT DATE.
RUSTIN ADVISED THAT KING WOULD ARRIVE LONDON NINE THIRTY FIVE
A.M., TWELVE FIVE, SIXTY FOUR. [REDACTED] REQUESTED RUSTIN TO ASK
KING TO INCLUDE IN HIS PREPARED STATEMENT THAT HE WILL DELIVER
UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND WORDS TO THE EFFECT THAT HE WAS

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b7c

1 - Atlanta (100-6670) (AM RM) 40-153735-697
1 - New York

JMK:msb
(3)

1 - Sup. #42

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
42 DEC 3 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE _____
(Priority)NY 100-153735
PAGE TWO

LINKING "OUR" PEACE ISSUE AND THE RACE ISSUE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORK AND HIS AMERICAN WORK. RUSTIN SAID, "I AM PUTTING IN HIS STATEMENT THE THREE GREAT PROBLEMS: THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY FOR THE NEGRO, AND THE WAR ON POVERTY, AND HERE HE WILL LINK OUR SOUTH AND YOUR SOUTH AFRICA." IN REGARD TO THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WILL BE ACCOMPANYING KING, RUSTIN SAID THERE WOULD BE FORTY ONE.

AIR MAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735-699 sub 701 Date 5/3/77
Class Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
Bufile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk

{

Date

{

Date Charged

Employee

Location



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland
December 3, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-01-2011

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL MEETINGS
NOVEMBER 18 THROUGH 21, 1964

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 2, 1964, that on November 27, 1964, a Communist Party (CP) meeting was held in Baltimore, Maryland.

The source stated that at the above meeting GEORGE MEYERS, who is known to the source as a member of the CP National Executive Committee as well as Chairman of the CP District which includes Maryland, Washington, D. C., Virginia, and North Carolina, told CP members present that he had been in attendance at CP National meetings held on November 18 through 21, 1964.

MEYERS stated that at the National meeting, the leadership expressed their satisfaction with the fact that Senator GOLDWATER had been defeated in the recent National elections.

MEYERS further stated that although the CP had supported President JOHNSON, because of his civil rights stand, they still had to consider him a possible danger to world peace because of his continued support of Southern Viet Nam. MEYERS stated that the Viet Nam situation was more dangerous than the Cuban situation.

MEYERS told CP members present that the CP would come out with a statement of policy the following week on the CP's attitude toward President JOHNSON and the world situation and that it would be presented to the public in leaflet form.

MEYERS stated that the CP felt that the Negro people in the U. S. were on the move and that the CP must continue to keep up its fight for Negro and white unity. | |

MEYERS in answer to a question about the removal of former Premier KHRUSHCHEV of the USSR made the statement that the CP National leadership had expressed concern about KHRUSHCHEV's

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-153765-702

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NATIONAL MEETINGS
NOVEMBER 18 THROUGH 21, 1964

removal from power but finally decided that it was proper since KHRUSHCHEV had committed a number of errors. MEYERS then pointed out that KHRUSHCHEV had not allowed criticism or discussion of his actions and that the split with Red China had become a personal matter with KHRUSHCHEV. MEYERS then stated that since KHRUSHCHEV's removal, the USSR has had better relations with Red China.

MEYERS commented that KHRUSHCHEV's son had abused his position and had travelled widely at public expense without rendering any accounting of his travels.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: December 3, 1964

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
From: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12464)
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C
CINAL

Reference Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated November 6, 1964, which concerned Communist Party, USA, National Board meetings which were to be held in New York City during the period November 18 through 21, 1964.

Enclosed with this airtel for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned "Communist Party, USA, National Meetings, November 18 through 21, 1964." Copies of the letterhead memorandum are also being furnished to New York. Four copies of the letterhead memorandum are being retained by Baltimore.

The source is

The letterhead memorandum is being classified "confidential" because data reported by could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of great value and compromise his future effectiveness.

b7D

- 5 - Bureau (Enclosures 8) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (1 - 100-422089 - CINAL)
 - (1 - 100-442529 - CIRM)
- ③ - New York (Enclosures 3) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - (2 - 100-80641)
 - (1 - 100-153735 - CIRM)
- 4 - Baltimore (1 -)
 - (1 - 100-12076; GEORGE MEYERS)
 - (1 - 100-19876; CINAL)

RCN
RCN:dfm
(12) *dfm*

100-153735-783

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 3 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Heaton
42

12/3/64

AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM

Re NY telephone call to Bureau on 12/2/64,
reporting following information:

On 12/2/64, NY 4212-59, a source close to
RAYARD RUSTIN, advised RUSTIN in conversation with HARRY
WACHTEL that date, during which time they discussed matters
concerning MARTIN LUTHER KING. WACHTEL related that
HURPERY (Vice-President elect, BUREAU HURPERY) was
coming (alluding to an affair being planned in NY to
honor KING) when he returns from Europe. RUSTIN inquired
if CLEVE (CLEVELAND ROBINSON, President of Local 65,
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union)
had been informed, prompting WACHTEL to reply affirmatively,
adding that "they" (KING and group) would return from
Europe on 12/16/64.

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WACHTEL and RUSTIN also discussed a
press conference of his (RUSTIN) which is to be on Friday
(12/4/64). RUSTIN said he was asked by KING to think

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6670) (CIRM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - New York

JMK:cjs

(7)

[Handwritten signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 6080 on 12/1/77
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION *[Handwritten]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-153735-704

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 3 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over stamp]

NY 100-153735

over what he should say, and asked WACHTEL to consider ideas along that line.

Continuing, WACHTEL said he had "covered the money business" (alluding to money for use of those accompanying KING to Europe) with [redacted] WACHTEL said he spoke to [redacted] "tonight" (12/2) and that he is coming to NY (Monday, 12/3) and will be at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel.

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Referring to the HUMPHREY announcement (to attend the KING affair) WACHTEL remarked that he interpreted the announcement as "a follow-through on the HOOVER thing". BAYARD replied, "Obviously." WACHTEL said the air was cleared, and "I think there should be some publicity about it. CLEVE (CLEVELAND ROBINSON) is going to put it on the posters." RUSTIN said CLEVE was operating in a very devious way, and "I'm terrified." In reply to a question of WACHTEL as to what this meant, RUSTIN said he (CLEVE) had refused to hire any people, and was trying to do it all by himself with people from Local 65, some of whom are not too efficient. RUSTIN said he would talk to KING tomorrow (12/3) and get him to apply some pressure to CLEVE. HARRY WACHTEL said he was to invite CLEVE to the press conference, prompting RUSTIN to remark that CLEVE was very arrogant, that "you have to bludgeon him." WACHTEL asked RUSTIN to cut him in about CLEVE. RUSTIN replied, "We've got to tell CLEVE that we are frightened about this and we want to hire some people. WACHTEL asked, "Do we have anyone to hire," prompting this reply from RUSTIN, "I have two or three people and I have sent them to him, and he says that there is no money and he doesn't want to be caught with a pig in a poke." That's not the way to put on a meeting." WACHTEL said, "Not one that is sort of mushrooming up in big wheels and so forth. I'll add my lick and as far as the press conference, I just think that RUSTIN has to not spell out too much of this HOOVER business. That's my main feeling."

In attempting to elaborate on the above, NY airtel and letter of 11/10/4, reported that RUSTIN

contacted [redacted] on 11/7/64, and discussed an affair to be held when KING returns from Europe. RUSTIN said WACHTEL had gotten [redacted] to help out with affair. [redacted] said he did not remember [redacted] except from the "Old Progressive Days." RUSTIN said he [redacted] could do some big work but "they" do not want him out in front.

In continuing their conference, RUSTIN told WACHTEL that "we" had a fantastic meeting at Randolph's (A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Pres. of the NALC) yesterday (12/2) of the big leaders or their representatives. RUSTIN said ROY (WILKINS, NAACP) who had gotten his story three days ago, went to the White House and to the FBI in the name of the leadership conference which included all the Negroes and all the whites and made it quite clear that whether or not they had anything, he didn't give a damn what if they used it (alluding to KING's immoral relations). WACHTEL answered, "This was an attack on the movement." RUSTIN said, "Not only that, but that the movement would have to begin to fight the JOHNSON administration because it was JOHNSON's responsibility." WACHTEL asked if he (WILKINS) went right to the top. RUSTIN replied, "Yes sir." Prompting WACHTEL to ask if that was before MARTIN's visit (with the Director). RUSTIN said that ROY (WILKINS) found out three days ago about "the supposed effort" causing WACHTEL to say "And he didn't just do what FARMER (JAMES FARMER, CORE) did, just pass it along, but did something." RUSTIN said, "he (WILKINS) went himself. I have great respect for ROY as a result of that." WACHTEL replied, "In other words, while we were talking, he was acting." RUSTIN said he was already acting. WACHTEL replied, "and therefore, this call of MARTIN's was like wrapping the ribbon." RUSTIN said yes, adding, "And furthermore if anything happens (obviously referring to a leak about KING's illicit affair) we have got a line from here to California that will fall on them (THE FBI) like a anallise." (obviously referring to a letter writing campaign to the President urging the Director's dismissal.) WACHTEL replied, "That's terrific--now what about that gal in Long Island."

NY 100-153735

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RUBIN said she was contained. WACHTEL said, "Well, I think that probably J. EDGAR (HOOVER) will pull back his horns. My respect for ROY has gone up immeasurably." RUBIN said his (WILKINS) point was that when a society has produced a MARTIN LUTHER KING, to permit anything to malign him, is to undermine morality in this nation. WACHTEL answered that it was a great statement and "I only wish that there was nothing there that did undermine the morality."

4
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-16-83475-1 GPO

File 153735 Case No. 206 Date 5-3

Class. Pending Closed Last Serial: _____
Serial No. _____ Description of Serial: _____ Date Charged: _____

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23
Employee _____

RECHARGE Date _____
To: _____ From: _____

Initials of Clerk { _____ } Date { _____ }

Date Charged: _____
Employee: _____
Location: _____

TO: SAC, NY (100-8939)
FROM: SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: MALCOLM X MURKIN

DATE: 12/3/64

Date received 12/30/64	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted]	Received by [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

12/24/64

Date(s) of activity

12/24/64

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b7C
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

Arrival of MALCOLM X in NY and Bronx

See former hold FILE Information at Airport,

NYC

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

Informant's original report is not con with corrections in spelling and punctuation:

- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-91911
- 1 - NY 100-145406
- 1 - NY 100-
- 1 - NY 100-152759
- 1 - NY 100-153500
- 1 - NY 100-153607
- 1 - NY 100-153735
- 1 - NY 100-8939

(NY) (43)

[redacted]

(NY) (43)

[redacted]

(NY) (43)

(43)

b6
b7C
b7D

NYC: [redacted]
()

Block Stamp:

100-153735-707

SEARCHED INDEXED

4/ [signature]

[signature]

NY 105-8999

MALCOLM X 11-24-64
Return From Africa

Kennedy Airport
Press Conference

We arrived at Kennedy Airport about 5:50 P.M. The plane was due at 6:00. MALCOLM's plane was 55 minutes late. JESSIE GRAY of Community Council on Housing of 117th Street welcomed MALCOLM X. JAMES SHABAZZ, [redacted] MALCOLM [redacted] and his three girls were at the airport. There were about twenty fellows from MALCOLM's Group carrying signs reading welcome back Brother MALCOLM. [redacted] also was at airport as well as PETER BAILEY, Editor of their newsletter. There were about 35 of MALCOLM's group met him.

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The press was there - T.V., Radio and Newspaper. On his trip he said he met with Pres. NASSER. A better understanding of our problem in the United States - of 22 million Negroes - it will be solved faster with the aid of our African brothers. MALCOLM stated that L.B.J. is the blame for trouble that is going on in the Congo.

TO: SAC NY (100-79303)
FROM: SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: CORE

DATE: 12/3/64

b6
b7C
b7D

Date received 11/30/64	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] (rel.-conceal)	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

11/26/64

Date(s) of activity

11/26/64

Brief description of activity or material

CORE demonstration to be held Port

Authority Bldg., 41st St. & 8th Ave.,

NYC

File where original is located if not attached

NY [redacted]

b7D

Remarks:

Informant's written report is set out with corrections in spelling and punctuation:

- 1 - NY [redacted] (43)
- 1 - NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-79303 (CORE) (42)

b7D

HPL:mfd
(3)

Block Stamp

100-153735-708

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SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
DEC 3 - 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over stamp]

NY 100-79303

Demonstration 11-26-64
41st St. and 8th Ave.

Trailways Bus Co.
Port Authority Building

CORE Northeastern Regional Office, 48 West 125 Street, New York City, plan a picket line and demonstration on Thanksgiving Day, 11-26-64, 11:00 AM to continue to discourage people to ride Trailways Bus. Negro and Puerto Rican CORE leaders say they would like to see Negro and Puerto Rican bus drivers and Negro hostesses. [redacted] is one of the Negro leaders in the CORE Northeastern Regional Office. Also out of the same office is [redacted] who at one time set up a program to make a citizens arrest on the Mayor of New York City, Mayor ROBERT WAGNER.

b6
b7c

TO: SAC, NY (100-79303) (42)
FROM: SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: CORE

DATE: 12/3/64

b6
b7C
b7D

Date received 11/30/64	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] (rel-conceal)	Received by SA [redacted]
----------------------------------	---	------------------------------

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

11/25/64

Date(s) of activity

11/25/64

Brief description of activity or material

~~CORE demonstration held Port Authority
Bldg., 41st St. & 8th Ave., NYC~~

File where original is located if not attached

b7D

Remarks:

Informant's written report is set out with corrections in spelling and punctuation:

- 1 - NY [redacted] (43)
- 1 - NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-79303 (42)

b7D

HPL:mfd
(3)

Block Stamp

100-153735-709

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____

FI - NEW YORK

J. Heaton

NY 100-79303

Demonstration 11-25-64
41st St. and 8th Ave.

Trailways Bus Co.
Port Authority Building

We arrived about 8:45 P.M. There were about 35 demonstrators of signs in front of the building - Negro and white demonstrators all from CORE. There were people from the press, CBS-TV, 3 newspaper reporters, 2 photographers. There were about 30 New York City police. There were lots of gimmicks used by CORE members such as asking for little tours that are not in their log book. Each CORE member would get in each ticket booth and ask long questions. Also in the Trailways Baggage Room near 9th Avenue, there were about 6 CORE members at the Baggage Room - 3 inside the room - 3 outside; the 3 inside pretended they couldn't find their bags which they did not have, delaying people in line waiting. The demonstration started about 6:00 - ended about 10:00. The next demonstration is scheduled for Nov. 26, 11:00 A.M. There were no arrests.

12/3/64

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-18290) (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Re New York teletype to Bureau and New Haven, 12/2/64.

Attention of Bureau and New York directed to New Haven teletype, 12/1/64, which indicated that [redacted] an executive of [redacted] Stamford, Conn., and CHESTER ADDISON, a Stamford, Conn. Police Commissioner, were the individuals designated to meet MARTIN LUTHER KING at Kennedy Airport on the evening of 11/30/64.

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Records of the Dept. of Motor Vehicles, Hartford, Conn., reflect that Conn. registration 461660 is registered to Pitney-Bowes, Inc., Walnut and Pacific Streets, Stamford, Conn., for a 1962 Cadillac automobile.

In view of above information, no additional investigation is being conducted to identify individuals who accompanied MARTIN LUTHER KING to Conn.

For additional information of Bureau and Atlanta, MARTIN LUTHER KING, on the occasion of his visit to Stamford on 11/30/64,

3- Bureau
2- New York (100-153735)
2- Atlanta (100-6670)
2- New Haven
WEN/acg
(9)
REGISTERED MAIL

100-153735-710

NH 100-18290

denied a report printed in the "New Orleans Times Picayune" that the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were planning to leave COFE. KING stated that "We (SCLC) are as committed as we have ever been" to COFE, "and plan to support COFE even more than in the past".

Dr. KING characterized COFE as "one of the most creative instruments in the civil rights movement".

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529

12/4/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM
IS-C

Re Bulet dated 11/16/64, and NY Airtel and LHM dated 10/10/64. Bulet instructed NYO review its files and established sources and attempt to identify [redacted] (PH), who was mentioned in NY LHM.

A review of NYO files reflect that one [redacted] is the subject of a Security Matter-C investigation, Bufile 100-403737; NY file 100-82890. [redacted] is listed in the Security Index of the NYO; is a self-employed [redacted] NYC, and is a resident of [redacted] New Rochelle, NY.

b6
b7c

The files reflect that [redacted] according to information from NY 694-S on 12/9/59, was [redacted] for the Democratic Fund Raising Dinner held at the Hotel Pierre in NYC, on 12/7/59. The dinner was given in honor of Mrs ROOSEVELT.

In summary report of SA [redacted] at NY, 8/10/53, NY 694-S* reported that [redacted] was a [redacted] and a Communist, who in the past had been in contact with top level Communist Party members:

In report of SA [redacted] at NY, 6/25/56, NY 694-S* was reported as having said that [redacted] contributed hundreds of dollars to the CP every month, as well as acted in the role of advisor to the CP.

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There does not appear in the NYO files any information indicating that [redacted] is known to MARTIN LUTHER KING. The NYO will remain alert to information indicating that [redacted] is in contact with KING.

2-Bureau(RM)
2-New York
(1-82890)

JMK:ntk
(4)

100-153735-711

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 7 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signature]

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F B I

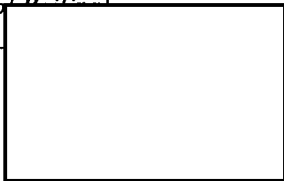
Date: 12/4/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority or Method of _____)

To: SACs, New York
Atlanta (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

From: Director, FBI



b6
b7C

GROUP SEEKING TO HAVE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
INTERCEDE WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON
VIET NAM SITUATION
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

ReATAirtel, copies to New York, 12/2/64 "CIRM;
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C" which enclosed a letterhead
memorandum (LHM) of same date reporting on a contact 11/30/64
between [redacted] and one [redacted]

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b7C

It was reported that [redacted] and several other
individuals (names only indicated and some then only phonetically)
are attempting to have Martin Luther King, Jr., intercede with
President Johnson on the Viet Nam situation. Neither the
individuals nor the group they represent is further identified.

New York should immediately attempt to identify the
individuals involved and any group with which they may be
connected. By return airtel, furnish fullest information
available and any that may be disseminated should be included
in a LHM. Identifying data would be helpful for the purpose of
checking Bureau indices on the individuals. If there is a
specific group or organization involved, future correspondence
should be appropriately captioned relative to such organization
with reference, of course, being made to instant airtel.

Both Atlanta and New York should be extremely alert
to any additional information obtained in this matter so that
the Bureau may be promptly advised in order to fulfill its
dissemination responsibilities.

Atlanta take note of instant caption and refer to Bulet
12/1/64 relative to appropriately captioning communications.
Insure that "CIRM" is not being used as a "catch-all" and that
correspondence is appropriately captioned in regard to its
substantive content.

100-153735-72

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
DEC 7 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

WJ

Handwritten signatures and initials
T.T. 12/4

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 12/4/64

ENCODE

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-)
GROUP SEEKING TO HAVE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
INTERCEDE WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON, IS - MISC.



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RE ATLANTA AIRTEL TO BUREAU, TWELVE TWO SIXTY
FOUR, CAPTIONED QUOTE CIRM; MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
SM DASH C UNQUOTE

INDICES OF NYO CONTAIN NO INFO IDENTIFIABLE
WITH [REDACTED] (PHONETIC), [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (PHONETIC) AND [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

① - New York
:vmc
(2) *[Signature]*
1 - Supervisor (#42)

100-157735-713
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
42 DEC 4 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
[Signature]

Approved: *JFM / Jupp* Special Agent in Charge Sent 8:57 M Per *[Signature]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, New York (100-153735)

DATE: 12/4/64

FROM : Director, FBI (100-442529)

SUBJECT: CIRM

ReBulet to Atlanta, copies to New York, 11/20/64 which noted that one [redacted] not further identified, may be a member of a group of advisors to Martin Luther King, Jr. ReAttel 11/24/64 concerning CIRM and King which reported some derogatory statements concerning me by one [redacted] identity unknown. New York was telephonically instructed to attempt to identify [redacted]

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ReNYtel to Bureau and Atlanta 11/25/64 which reported background information concerning a [redacted] indicating he is possibly identical to the [redacted] of earlier communications. New York noted, however, that there is not sufficient information to positively establish an identification and that New York would be alert for any information which would definitely establish [redacted] identify.

Recipient offices should be particularly alert to any information which would positively establish the identity of the [redacted] who was critical of me and who may be a member of King's advisory group. New York is instructed to take the necessary steps on the occasion of any future meetings of the advisory group to possibly establish [redacted] identity by fisurs of the meetings and/or of [redacted]

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The Bureau should be kept promptly advised of all developments in this matter.

2 - Atlanta (100-6670)

100-153735-714

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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DEC 4 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton

[redacted]

JLL

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2

SAC, NEW YORK

12/4/64

SA [redacted] (46)

COMINFIL, STATEN ISLAND CHAPTER, CORE IS-C

Identity of Source [redacted]
 Description of info CORE meeting, S.I., N.Y.
 Date Received 11/16/64
 Original Located [redacted]

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b7C
b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - New York [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-54303 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-141162 [redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-111573 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-152309 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-149714 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-152458 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-49636 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 157-1175 (MISSISSIPPI PROJECT) (43)
- 1 - New York 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York 100-153249 (41)

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b7C
b7D

VJS:pcc
(11)

100-153735-715
 SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
 SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
 DEC. 4, 1964
 FBI - NEW YORK

[Handwritten signature]

On Tuesday evening, November 10, 1964, a regular meeting of the Staten Island Chapter, CORE, was held at the Markham Houses Community Center, West Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y.

Among those present were [redacted]

b6
b7C

It was mentioned that [redacted] had been one of the pickets arrested on the previous Saturday at the Trailways Bus demonstration at the Port Authority building. The Staten Island Chapter of CORE agreed to donate \$50.00 toward the legal defense expenses which would be incurred by those arrested.

It seems that some of the demonstrators who went to the demonstration planned on being arrested, while others did not. [redacted] had not planned on the arrest.

There was a discussion about the automobile which the Chapter had donated to be sent to Mississippi for use by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). A letter was read to the members from the man belonging to COFO who had driven the vehicle to Mississippi. He had sent the letter to [redacted] because he had stayed overnight with the [redacted] family before leaving for Mississippi. [redacted] had purchased the temporary license plates and insurance for the car so that it could be driven to Mississippi. The plates were to be sent back to [redacted] once the car arrived in Mississippi. The letter told how there was a great deal of mechanical trouble with the car on the trip south.

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b7C

FBI

Date: 12/4/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
(100-432067)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41324)
(100-36644)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION, CINAL
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS
IS - C

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF NEGRO
AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies,
for New York 4 copies, and for WFO 2 copies each of a LHM,
which is self-explanatory.

Confidential sources utilized in enclosed LHM
are:

- 7 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
- ④ - New York (Encls. 4) (RM)
- ② - 100-153735 (CIRM)
- ② - 100-139834 (COMINFIL - NALC)
- 2 - WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 5 - Chicago
- 1 - [redacted] b7D
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - 100-32207 (CINAL)

EHW/mes
(18)

100-153735-217

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

1/2

CG 100-41324
CG 100-36644

CG T-1 is [REDACTED]

CG T-2 is [REDACTED]

The enclosed LHM is being classified confidential since data received from the sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

b7D

Information set forth in the enclosed LHM was purposely paraphrased in order to further protect the sources, who obtained the information during the course of a meeting of the [REDACTED] held on [REDACTED] in Chicago, Illinois, at which a limited number of individuals were present.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-01-2011

Chicago, Illinois
DECEMBER 4, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA -
NEGRO QUESTION, COMMUNIST
INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

On [redacted] Chicago T-1 and Chicago T-2
advised that at a [redacted] of the
[redacted] recently held in Chicago, Illinois, that
Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Illinois CP, reported
that in connection with the State of the Race Conference
called by A. Philip Randolph, National Chairman of the
Negro American Labor Council (NALC) for January, 1965,
in Washington, D. C., the National CP has a task of trying
to bring approximately 200 "progressives" to this
Conference.

b7D

Chicago T-1 and Chicago T-2 further advised that
in connection with the NALC, Lightfoot reported that the
National CP feels that the NALC should be built at all
costs.

The sources utilized above have furnished
reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).
It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your
agency.

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-153735-716

SAC, NEW YORK

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/4/64

[SA [redacted] (46)]

COMINFIL, STATEN ISLAND CHAPTER, CORE
IS-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Identity of Source [redacted]

Description of info

CORE Youth meeting, S.I.,
N.Y.

Date Received

11/16/64

Original Located [redacted]

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b7C
b7D

Please index name of [redacted] on copy to
100-109535. Index name of [redacted] on copy to
100-54303.

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - New York [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-151024 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-141162 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-54303 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-109585 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-111573 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York 100-153249 (41)

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VJS:poc
(8)

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

DEC. 4, 1964

FBI - NEW YORK

J. Seaton [Signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Class. & Ext. By
Reason - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
Date of Review

5/8/80/bce
12/4/84
7/26/89

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

On Tuesday evening [redacted] a meeting of the [redacted] CORE, was held at the Markham Houses Community Center, Staten Island, N.Y. The meeting started at about 7:00 p.m. and preceded the regular adult CORE meeting. *Q*

There was not a very large turnout, since there was competition from two dances held the same night. Those who were able to attend included [redacted] and two other teen-agers. [redacted] was not there. [redacted] acted as "advisor" to the group and [redacted] was present. *R*

Those present discussed the areas of activity they would be able to cover and gave their ideas as to what they hoped to get out of the organization. Recruiting ideas was discussed and it was believed that between 20 to 40 prospects, who would be earnestly interested in such an organization, could be received into the group. *R*

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There appeared to be an undercurrent of dislike between [redacted] daughter of [redacted] was noted to speak up quite a bit for her daughter, [redacted] was discussing "weirdos", meaning the type of young people who join an organization with no apparent purpose in mind. She said that CORE doesn't need someone who will join the Birch Society one minute and then the Communist Party. *R*

[redacted] discussed the philosophical aspects of such a group, mentioning that recruiting was work and it was difficult. He warned them not to expect too much progress at first. He impressed upon them that quality and not quantity was important. *R*

The meeting ended at about 8:30 p.m. *R*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/4/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Re Bureau letter to Little Rock, 11/16/64;
Little Rock airtel to Bureau, 11/16/64; report of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated 10/29/64, at Little Rock.

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Review of files of NYO revealed [redacted]
[redacted] is subject of Bureau file 100-418513 and NY file
100-122456. The following information was taken from that
file.

By means of a pretext interview conducted by
SA THOMAS J. CROKE under the guise of a patient seeking
to make an appointment, it was ascertained on 9/30/64,
that [redacted] resides at [redacted]
New York City, and is a [redacted] with an office at
[redacted] New York City.

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Mrs. [redacted]
Long Island, New York, advised SA JOHN V. GRIFFIN on 3/1/55,
that [redacted] and [redacted] have two sons,
[redacted] and [redacted] who were 14 and 12, respectively,
at that time.

- 3 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 2 - Little Rock (100-3564) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (42)

JCS:gmd
(7)

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

100-153735-223

Rum

NY 100-153735

On 7/24/64, [redacted] Office of [redacted]

[redacted]
New York City, telephonically contacted the NYO and furnished information concerning the activities of personnel of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. He advised that Dr. [redacted] New York City, was among those going to Clarksdale, Mississippi.

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On 1/12/55, former [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] was a member of the [redacted] of the CP at New York City, during the period he lived at [redacted] from 1949 to 1951. He had been a member of the CP in New York City for an unknown period prior to 1949.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

DATE: 12/7/64
CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP-4 on 10-10-80
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, 11-1-2.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 12-7-84 JC

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are four copies of an informant's statement dated November 22, 23, and 24, 1964, containing information orally furnished on November 22, 23, and 24, 1964, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on November 30 - December 3, 1964, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-8976.

- 4-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100- (NALC)
- 2-Baltimore (RM)
 - (1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Maryland District - Organization)
- 2-Cleveland (RM)
 - (1 - 65-721 (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Ohio District - Organization)

RWH:MDW
(see page ii for additional dissemination)

100-153735-784

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton

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Amended
pg 2-1
inserted

~~SECRET~~

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

5-Detroit (RM)

- (1 - 100-8482 (TOMMY DENNIS)
- (1 - 100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
- (1 - 100-2050 (CP, Michigan District - Organization)
- (1 - 100- (CIRM) 100-
- (1 - 100- (Cominfil - NALC)

3-Los Angeles (RM)

- (1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- (1 - 100-26044 (CP, Southern California District - Organization)
- (1 - 100- (CP, Southern California District - Political Activities)

30-New York (RM)

- (1 - 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)
- (1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT ADTHEKER)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-56 (MICHAEL DAVIDOW)
- (1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
- (1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- (1 - 100-16785 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- (1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-13444 (JOE NORTH)
- (1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- (1 - 100-128255 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- (1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
- (1 - 100- (CARL WINTER)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA - Factionalism)
- (1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)
- (1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1 - 100-79717 (CP, USA - Political Activities)
- (1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets & Publications)

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RWH:MDW

(see page iii for additional dissemination)

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CG 100-33741

Copies:

30-New York (RM) (Con't.)

- (1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
- (1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
- (1 - 100- (CIRM)
- (1 - 100- (Progressive Labor Movement)
- (1 - 100-9369 (TED BASSETT)

2-San Francisco (RM)

- (1 - 65-1242 (ALBERT "MICKEY" LIMA)
- (1 - 100-27747 (CP, Northern California District - Organization)

9-Chicago

- (1 - A)134-46-8976)
- (1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 100-3952 (GIL GREEN)
- (1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
- (1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)
- (1 - 100-41324 (CIRM)
- (1 - 100-36644 (NALC)

RWH:MDW

(57)

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November 22, 23, and 24, 1964

During the period November 18-21, 1964, there was held a meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), which was held at the Hotel Martinique, New York City. Members of the CP, USA National Board and invited guests in attendance at this meeting included the following:

GUS HALL
HENRY WINSTON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]
TOM DENNIS
JACK KLING
JOE NORTE
MICHAEL DAVIDOW
GEORGE MEYERS

[REDACTED]
MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]
ANTHONY KECHEMAREK
DOROTHY HEALEY
ALBERT LIMA

JAMES ALLEN
ROBERT TROMPSON
JACK STACHEL
GIL GREEN
CARL WINTER
ARNOLD JOHNSON

[REDACTED]
IRVING POTASH
BETTY GANNETT
TED BASSETT
HERBERT AP'THEKER
HY LUMER

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The Chairman of the first session on November 18, 1964, was TOM DENNIS. [REDACTED] announced the agenda for the November 18-21, 1964, National Board meeting would be as follows:

Report on the USA Elections - JACK STACHEL

Report on International Situation - HY LUMER

Report on the Status of the Racial Conflict -
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Special Report on Viet Nam - ARNOLD JOHNSON

Report on CP, USA Organizational Problems -
[REDACTED]

Report on Legal Status of the Party - GUS HALL

Report on the Status of the "Peoples World" -
HENRY WINSTON

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Although the above was the announced agenda, following is the actual order of reports delivered at this National Board meeting:

Report on the election by JACK STACHEL was followed by HY LUMER's report on the international situation. These were followed by the report on Viet Nam by JOHNSON, then the report by LIGHTFOOT on the status of the racial conflict, and the last report was by [redacted] on CP, USA organizational problems. §

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The first report was that of JACK STACHEL on the results of the 1964 USA elections. STACHEL stated in essence as follows:

An estimate should be formed as to the character of the recent Presidential election. 1964 was a political cross-roads election in which the path could swing in either direction; in the direction of reaction or in the direction of a smashing defeat for the forces of the ultra-right and fascism. As a result of the challenge of the reactionary forces, we had the opportunity to create mass movements and as a result we "reached the millions." We became a force to shape results of important issues. The defeat of Goldwaterism gave a thundering defeat to the forces of war, fascism, and racism. A new high level of political maturity was achieved by the American people. In spite of fraudulent efforts to confuse, the Negro people voted 99% in some cases for President JOHNSON. A

There were those who saw no danger from the ultra-right. Some viewed this as a case of "tweedledum" and "tweedledee" or "the worse the better"; or "it can't happen here." The victory of President JOHNSON was so one-sided that some are now trying to prove that there was no danger from the ultra-right ever. Did we overestimate the danger from the ultra-right? The answer is no. Some people drew pessimistic conclusions on the Goldwater nomination. This reflected a lack of faith in the American people and traditions. But, this reaction was not inevitable. The CP recognized the danger and although defeated, the ultra-right has not yet been destroyed. §

The following statistics in the recent election are particularly significant. 61.3% of the electorate voted for JOHNSON (in 1936 60.6% voted for FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT). JOHNSON received an electoral vote of 48 to 52 for GOLDWATER. JOHNSON received 68% of the vote in the ten northeastern states; 63.7%

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from the border states; 61.9% from the eleven midwestern states; 60.07% from the five Pacific states; 56.6% from the eight mountain states. JOHNSON received barely a majority of 50.3% in the eleven southern states. In New York, JOHNSON received a plurality of two and a half million, a plurality of one million in Ohio, and a plurality of 380,000 in Illinois. GOLDWATER's strategy was that he would win if he could carry the South, the Rocky Mountain states, Texas, Ohio, Illinois, and California. A look at the figures shows that GOLDWATER was not mad but rather he just fell down and did not carry the states he hoped to carry. GOLDWATER only carried the four states that THURMOND carried in 1948 plus Georgia and just squeaked by in Arizona. §

The most important gain by the election was in Congress. Forty-eight Republicans lost their seats. This was important not merely because of numbers, but also because of quality; the worst reactionaries were defeated. The coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats has been broken for the first time since the days of FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT. There have also been tremendous changes in the state legislatures, some of which is due to reapportionment. There is a social and class background in the achievement of the GOLDWATER defeat. This was the broadest coalition of the working class people and the Negro liberation movement. None will not continue this fight on all issues but can be held together by a coincidence of interests, particularly on the question of peace. But the backbone of this coalition remains the working class, both Negro and white, and all the common people. In the northern big cities the vote increased from 63% for KENNEDY in 1960 to 74% for JOHNSON; in the suburbs it increased from 46% to 63%; and in the rural areas the percentage remained the same. The Negro vote overall was approximately 95% for JOHNSON and in Illinois it was 97% and Michigan 98%. Insofar as the vote was a measure of income, those of income \$10,000 and over were in favor of GOLDWATER. In regard to the question of backlash, 16 counties in Maryland which returned 64% for WALLACE returned only 42% for GOLDWATER. §

But was this victory inevitable? A shift of only eight million votes would have caused a change in the outcome of the election in 1960. The votes were pretty well evenly divided between KENNEDY and NIXON. I think we can say that peace was the overriding issue in this election. The women of the country gave 67% of the vote for JOHNSON. In regard to civil rights, I believe that this was the most positive factor in the shaping of the campaign. The Negro people's movement

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was decisive. The national ticket of JOHNSON and HUMPHREY campaigned on this issue. GOLDWATER's campaign was tied to the slogan "Riots in the Streets." On the economic issues--the 6 years of growth in the national economy was a factor, but the administration emphasized its campaign against poverty, for Social Security, etc. Insofar as the question of whether there was a danger of JOHNSON moving to the right, we saw that JOHNSON did not compete with GOLDWATER on who is more to the right. If the people's movement had not organized the forces of labor and the Negro people and the entire left, there would have been no guarantee that JOHNSON would not have moved to the right. 5

On the role of the Party and the left: the left played its biggest role since the campaign for HENRY WALLACE in 1948. Regarding our Party and its policies: we were never so united as we were in this campaign. The Party had a greater percentage of members active in the campaign, our members had better understanding of the issues, understood the line and brought it to the masses of the people. Organizations of the left and progressives worked hard. In contrast, we can say that the role of the forces around the "National Guardian" was one of inconsistency. The role of the Socialist Party was one of division. X

The 26 million people who voted for GOLDWATER are not all fascists, but the danger from the right remains strong. Without specific demands for peace, economy, democracy, equality and on the question of youth, you can't really beat a fascist organization. There must be an expose of the violent fascist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, etc. The role of the Party is the correct policy based upon the unity of the working class and people generally. This smashing victory was due not only to fear of GOLDWATER but also due to changes in the national economy and social life. 5

This Party is against GOLDWATER's theory of realignment of the two national parties, Democrats and Republicans, into two parties with the liberals on one side and the conservatives on the other. We are not indifferent concerning who controls the Republican Party. This is not merely a struggle by ROCKEFELLER and BORMEY against GOLDWATER. The people must intervene to support the people's demands in the state legislatures, in Congress, etc. Let the Republican Party compete for the people's favor. Both parties must be compelled to meet the people's demands. We must remember that GOLDWATER's base in the South is vulnerable. This is no idyllic approach to the Democratic Party. That party is also a party of monopoly but it has a different base. The

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forces of monopoly will always fight for the status quo. "JOHNSON's victory was no mandate," according to the "Wall Street Journal." The "National Guardian" and the Trotskyites say the same thing. We are justly critical of the JOHNSON Administration policies on Viet Nam, etc., but we must remain a part of a broad coalition. Without demands, there can be no general unity. Abstractions are not enough. Our future political activity must be based upon independent action and organizational action operating side by side. We must construct a permanent political machinery. We must lend our support to developing movements, lobbies, conferences and state, local and national movements. We must emphasize the importance of year-round political activity. We must develop an extensive struggle for the participation of mass organizations in governmental bodies. We must promote participation in the selection of candidates in advance of the primaries in order to make them logical candidates. S

There is already activity along these lines by such organizations as Women Strike for Peace. There have been signature campaigns for cease-fire in Viet Nam, for trade with socialist countries and against U.S. intervention in Cuba, Congo, etc. S

We must emphasize our program for the implementation of the civil rights law on every level, including trade unions, jobs, education, to enfranchise the Negroes in the South, for federal power to guarantee civil rights and for the impeachment of corrupt judges. The role of the trade unions must be to organize the unorganized in the South, providing they give up their chauvinism. We must struggle to bring about the enactment of medicare and aid to the region of Appalachia. The composition of Congress is now like it was in 1936 and is favorable for the enactment of a complete system of social legislation. There must be a fight for full employment. In this way, we can breathe life into the "Great Society" slogan. In regard to civil liberties, the fight must continue for the repeal of the McCarran Act, the indictment of the Ku Klux Klan, Minutemen, and Nazis. Insofar as our relations with the other members of the left are concerned, they must remain friendly and we must differentiate the Trotskyites from the others. S

This was the end of STACHEL's report. It was followed by discussion which was begun by ARNOLD JOHNSON who stated as follows:

On the role of the CP in the election. When KENNEDY was in office but six months, GUS WALL, in a speech, warned of

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the danger from the ultra-right. We made a great contribution in this election to defeat the ultra-right, and we mobilized the entire left also on the issues of civil rights and economic issues. [redacted] estimates that the CP distributed 800,000 to one million pieces of literature during this campaign. The speeches and trips made by GUS HALL and HENRY WINSTON were of great significance. They and our local people also reached the people with our message via the press, radio and TV. However, use of "The Worker" did not pick up despite the publicity. ~~S~~

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The discussion was then continued by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT who stated as follows:

This election the people not only voted against something, but also for some things. The material conditions now exist for achieving a breakthrough for civil rights during the next four to six years. Certain subjective factors need to be brought into play. For some time the Negro civil rights movement alone stood out as a protest; today, this is not only one issue by itself but covers an entire spectrum of people and demands ranging from the broad issue of peace on into other areas. The Negro people are now no longer alone as results have shown. The goal of two million Negro voters in the South, when realized, will result in a realignment and retirement of Dixiecrats. ~~S~~

[redacted] next reported on the role of youth in the election as follows:

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The attitude of youth during this election was such that according to reports on activities in various colleges 70% rejected GOLDWATER compared to the 60% rejection by adults. There was, during this campaign, greater activity on the part of youth than ever before during the last 20 years. The task now is to find ways to use the pre-election momentum to build a united movement of youth on peace and economic issues, on democratization of education, on federal aid to education and on integration. The war in Viet Nam and the elimination of the draft also are real issues. ~~S~~

ANTHONY KROGMANN commented that the victory over the forces of the ultra-right was achieved by the forces of labor combined with the Negro movement, including the youth. ~~S~~

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Following the above discussion, GIL GREEN read a first draft of a resolution which was to set forth the position of the CP, USA on the recent elections. No copies were available to be passed out to those in attendance and, therefore, GREEN read the entire statement. The text of GREEN's first draft with a small change subsequently incorporated was as follows:

1) The electorate has spoken. It has given a stinging rebuff to the defiant bid of extreme reaction for governmental power. It has made the term Goldwaterism synonymous with Mc Carthyism, with rabid anti-communism and war-mongering, with Dixiecratism and violent racism, with haughty indifference to the plight of the unemployed, the aged, the young and the poor. §

November 3rd represented an important people's victory. It was a bridge that had to be crossed, a battle that had to be won. It has placed the political struggle on new terrain from which great new victories are possible. But it is no guarantee that what the people voted for--peace, civil rights, greater democracy and a real war on poverty--are now assured. The election landslide has given the common people an indisputable advantage in the fight for their rights and their needs. Whether that advantage is fully utilized, or whether it is frittered away or completely lost, depends upon how the election victory is understood and what is done to realize its mandate. X

There can be no reliance on the good intentions of the Johnson Administration and the newly-elected congress, despite the overwhelming character of the victory and the greatly improved composition of both the House and Senate. Whether the election returns will be read correctly by those elected to public office does not depend alone on their ability to interpret the national will accurately. It depends even more on the ability of the national will to make that interpretation stick, to so translate it into concrete forward-looking policies, and so fight for their realization, that they cannot be evaded without running into a buzzsaw of popular opposition. In this alone lies the guarantee that the election mandate will be fulfilled. §

2) The struggle to achieve this will not be easy. The ultra-right, although badly beaten in the election, still represents a formidable and dangerous force. For it was a win-all, lose-all election. There is evidence that the ultra-right did not actually expect to lose by so great a margin. It was nonetheless able to mislead some nearly 27 million Americans into

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voting for GOLDWATER, even though the vast majority of these cannot be considered as ultra-rightists. This is an ominous warning not to be ignored. §

The Birchite-Dixiecrat-Goldwater camp is now seeking to regroup its ranks. It will endeavor to hold on to its dominant position within the GOP while making some overtures and concessions in the direction of party unity. It will do all in its power to exert a constant unremitting reactionary pressure on the JOHNSON Administration, on congress, and on the state governments. It is better organized than are the liberals and progressives and is well-heeled financially. It will seek to use every setback suffered by American imperialism abroad, every struggle between monopoly and the people at home, to sow confusion and demagoguery. It aims to weld together a phalanx of racist and fascist-minded forces ready to go to any limits, even armed violence, to thwart the national will and to achieve their ultra-reactionary ends. The November 3rd election was only the first major battle with the ultra-right; not the decisive nor final one. §

3) Now that the elections are over, a threat to the popular mandate also comes from many of the big business forces who, for their own reasons, opposed the GOLDWATER candidacy and gave varying degrees of support to the campaign of President JOHNSON. These capitalist groupings will now endeavor to interpret the election mandate in their own way and in their own interest. This will not be in the interest of the people. §

It is true that these groups do not want a trigger-happy foreign policy that could blunder the nation into a nuclear disaster. That is why they feared a GOLDWATER victory. But neither do they want a complete end to the cold war and arms race and a true policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and all other socialist lands. Nor do they seek an end to colonialism, only an end to the discredited European brand while imposing their own neo-colonial forms of economic and political subjugation. They support the dirty wars in Viet Nam and the Congo and organize U.S. guerrilla armies and CIA financed and manipulated counterrevolutions to keep the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa from becoming masters in their own homes. §

The big business groups that supported JOHNSON recognized that there could be no peace on our streets if GOLDWATER and the Dixiecrats won federal power. They realize that concessions to greater Negro equality are inevitable. Yet they do

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not want a complete end to discrimination NOW, and certainly do not want it in industry, for that would cut into their profits. Nor do they want a radical change in the South, for they fear that a South governed by a forward-looking Negro-white alliance would so weaken reaction nationally, and particularly in the halls of congress, as to give a new progressive thrust to the whole nation. \$

Likewise are they opposed to the kind of economic reforms and massive federally financed building programs which alone can create the jobs and decent housing without which the very promise of Negro equality becomes a mockery. \$

These capitalist groupings, other than those who supported GOLDWATER, find it in their interests to make certain concessions to labor in order to avoid all-out class conflict. But they are no less bitterly opposed to a new labor upsurge, to a new extension of labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively, and to a great new advance in progressive social legislation. \$

While these groupings of capital did not want Goldwaterism in power at this time, now that it has been decisively defeated, they do not want it totally crushed. They want it to remain strong enough to vote public pressure for more liberal and progressive domestic and foreign policies, and as an ace-in-the-hole should they some day prefer it in power. \$

4) One of the major objectives of these big business groupings is to try to halt the process of political regrouping which in this election, more than any previous one, indicates a radical transformation of the mass base of each of the two major parties. As these parties evolved historically, they were each composed of heterogeneous and conflicting class and sectional interests, which in the course of intra-party strife cancelled themselves out and thus made big business control easier. In fact, the parties were little more than corrupt electoral combinations held together to win elections and not bound by any platform or program. But starting with the Roosevelt New Deal a shift began to take place in the mass base of each party. The Democratic Party nationally became identified in the public mind as the party more responsive to mass pressure, especially from the workers, Negro people and lower income groups. The Republican Party became identified in the public mind with the vested interests. Both national parties remained in fact the

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parties of big business. The national Democratic Party tended to get more big business support when a course of compromise was deemed advisable or unavoidable. The national Republican Party was the greater recipient of this support when a policy of concessions was opposed, or when it was feared that the pressure for reform would get out of hand. Monopoly groupings and individual capitalists have leaned in one direction or the other, depending also upon the nature of their investments, their market problems, and the struggle within the ranks of finance capital for the lion's share of the yearly \$100 billion of federal spending. §

5) In this year's election, the shift in mass base reached a new high point. Every section of the labor movement supported the national Democratic ticket, something which did not take place even in the ROOSEVELT landslide of 1936. It is estimated that well over 80% of the working class vote went to JOHNSON. The Negro people, who up to the days of the New Deal were traditionally in the Republican column, this year voted Democratic by an estimated 95%. The huge Negro vote with its near unanimity was decisive in swinging the election in most northern industrial states. In the South too it played a special role, being decisive in all the Southern states won by JOHNSON and in a number of key Southern congressional districts as well. §

The Dixiecrat hold on the South has up to now been used as the main mass counteracting force to the growing influence of the labor, Negro and liberal movements within the national Democratic Party. This year, the Dixiecrats broke with the national ticket and formed an alliance with GOLDWATER and the Republican Party. Some, like THURMOND, switched outright to the Republican Party. Thus the labor, Negro, liberal and progressive forces are in a relatively stronger position to wield influence in the national Democratic Party than ever before. §

6) Contrariwise, the national Republican Party in this election became the die-hard party of extreme reaction, turning its back on many of its former supporters and embracing the Birchites, Kluxers and Dixiecrats as its natural allies. Even large sections of the northern farm vote, of the women's vote, of the relatively conservative suburban, small-town and old-age vote, swung away from the Republican national ticket in disgust. It is estimated that in the north GOLDWATER got his main vote from the upper income groups. Only in the South, where many white working people are still poisoned by racial prejudice, did he get large numbers of lower income voters. §

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This situation is causing considerable alarm in the ranks of certain big business groups and their political pundits. There is much talk about the danger of a one party system and of the Republican Party dwindling to a small minority party and going the way of the Whigs. The real fear is that the tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee aspect of the two party system may go out of existence and give way to parties based on specific class alliance and corresponding programs. ~~β~~

The Republican Party finds itself in deep crisis. If democratic reapportionment is won in the various states, and if the Negro people can win their right vote in the South, the crisis in the ranks of the Republican Party is bound to grow, for much of the strength it has exercised in state legislatures and in Congress has been out of proportion with its actual strength in the electorate. At the same time many forces inside the Republican Party now realize that it can survive as a potent political force in the industrial states at least by moving in an opposite direction to Goldwaterism. We are not indifferent to this trend and would like to see extreme reaction defeated in both major parties. ~~β~~

But the attempt to save the Republican Party by patching up the differences within it are not in most cases motivated by concern with giving the people alternative electoral choices. On the part of big business it is motivated by the single desire to keep the two-party system as it has been: safe vehicles thru which it can continue to exercise its political domination. ~~β~~

7) In the Democratic Party, too, the struggle is shaping up with new dimensions. The question is: Will the new mass base of the national Democratic Party reflect itself in policies, leadership and in the exercise of power? Or, will the Johnson Administration take this mass base for granted and seek instead to mend its political fences on the Right? Concretely: Will the Johnson Administration continue to give key posts in the cabinet to big business representatives, including Republicans, or will labor and the Negro people find representation in the cabinet for the first time? Will the Administration lead the fight for a change in seniority rules, or will it placate the Dixiecrats by giving them the very committee posts from which they can best smother and sabotage the carrying thru of the election mandate? Will the Administration give protection to the Negro people in the deep South and guarantee them their constitutional rights, or will it close its eyes to the reign of

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terror in the interests of recementing party harmony? Will the Administration take steps to bring America's undeclared war against Viet Nam to an end, or will it give way to the Gold-waterites in the State and Defense Departments who want to escalate that war into an all-Asian conflict? Will the Administration push thru Congress a major crash anti-poverty measure, transferring billions from military expenditures to the task of wiping out slums, building schools, expending education, and providing jobs and opportunities for our youth, or will it be content with only feeble efforts in that direction? §

It is on these questions and others like them that the new Administration will be judged. If it can be moved in a more progressive direction in both domestic and foreign policy, then the prospect of a new-New Deal becomes a realistic possibility and the Johnson Administration can help take the nation forward from where the old-New Deal left off. Under such circumstances the Democratic Party and the Johnson Administration will not come into collision with its own mass base of support and may even consolidate this base still further. But if it heads in a conservative-reactionary direction and betrays its own election promises, then a collision between it and its supporters becomes inevitable. §

8) It would be a major mistake to believe that the overwhelming victory of President Johnson and the Democratic ticket represented a blind allegiance to the Democratic Party or an unconditional vote of confidence in President Johnson and his policies. As noted by many commentators and straw polls, the vote and support for President Johnson was definitely conditional. What was unconditional was the opposition to Gold-waterism and the determination to bury it in an avalanche of public condemnation. §

Furthermore, the large plurality given Johnson was not garnered exclusively by the Democratic machine. Without the independent activities of labor, the Negro people, Jewish, Mexican and Puerto Rican Americans and other nationality groups, and of writers, educators, scientists and citizens of all types; without the tireless work of nearly all civil rights organizations and groups, and without the formation of independent volunteer movements within the Democratic Party itself and of such new political formations as the Freedom Democratic Party, this great victory would not have been possible. §

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All this represents an important plus for the battles ahead, but only if these independent movements recognize that their job is not done. They need to find the basis for continued and permanent existence, fighting for progressive policies and for the complete fulfillment of the November 3rd mandate. S

Secondly, these independent volunteer formations need to achieve a greater degree of cohesion and unity based upon greater clarity of program and perspective. What is needed to combat Goldwaterism in all its manifestations and to counter the organization and cohesion of the ultra-right, is a great people's coalition for peace, equality, security and opportunity. It is the organized labor movement, representing the most progressive, best organized and most militant class in modern society, which has the responsibility of taking the lead in the formation and heading-up of such a popular coalition. S

The need for such a people's alliance has been recognized by certain labor leaders who have called for a National Coalition of Conscience. But this thought has not yet become the accepted goal of the entire labor movement and little has been done to implement it. One reason for this is that the majority of labor leaders are still tied too closely to the Democratic machine and tend to give a blank check to whatever Democratic Administration is in power. This is the major reason why the political action machinery of the labor movement, in the form of COPE, is still in most places something thrown together in the last weeks of an election campaign. It is not a permanent political arm of labor, working day in and day out around the year in every plant and working class community. S

9) Of all social forces in our land, the Negro people are the most dissatisfied with their lot, unable and unwilling to live in the old way and determined not to sell their birth-right and self-dignity for some minor advances. Yet the fulfillment of their battle cry, "Freedom Now," requires far-reaching changes in American life and not least of all in its economy. For these reasons the Negro people's movement is the most determined and militant force in America today. Its courage, self-sacrifice and noble ideals have attracted to it also many of the best of the white young generation, who understand that by winning freedom for Negro America they will insure freedom for all America. S

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Because the root cause of Negro oppression is economic, and because the great majority of Afro-Americans are working people there is the basis for a natural alliance between the labor and Negro people's movements. This already exists in loose form and could exist in complete and solid form once the labor movement takes a greater initiative in the struggle for Negro rights and in the great battle for peace and against poverty. When the spirit which today animates the Negro people's movement sweeps over into the ranks of labor, a great new rebirth of the labor movement will take place. It will complete the job of organizing the millions of still unorganized industrial, white collar and professional workers and place itself in the recognized leadership of all those working for social progress in the United States; It is toward that day that all class-conscious and militant trade unionists should work.

10) The most important single task in helping to weld together a coalition that can block the path to Goldwaterism, no matter what form, face or guise it may take, is the building of an ever more united and ever stronger Left force in American life. The nature of our problems in the years ahead are such that only deep-going economic and political changes can counter the built-in tendencies of American capitalism toward retrogression and reaction. Only a stronger Left force which views American problems on the background of a world in revolutionary technological and social change, and which understands the nature of our present-day society and the meaning of socialism, can exert a consistently progressive influence on current struggles, giving them aim and perspective.

There is increasing evidence of a growing ferment in the ranks of progressive-minded people, especially young people; a growing realization that what has been referred to as the Triple Revolution of our time, will require answers more deep-going and fundamental than those faced by any previous generation. New times will require new values, new approaches, new answers. This means that the potential for the development in American life of an influential and ever more vital Left force is rapidly maturing.

The fact that new forces moving to advanced social thinking come from varied class and social backgrounds and have different levels of experience, explains the reason for the conflicting points of view in the ranks of the Left, both new and old, and why no single common approach to all basic questions has yet emerged.

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This expressed itself during the election campaign. Every section of the Left recognizes that a basic political regrouping in American political life is necessary and inevitable. The day will surely come when socialist-minded people, trade unionists and progressives generally, will have a major electoral party of their own, representing their combined interests and not that of big capital. But what many on the Left fail to see is that the exact process of political regrouping taking place is different from that at the beginning of the century. It is not following the old classical pattern of straight-line third-party development. The process at work is more complicated and complex. It is still taking place within the framework of the institutionalized two-party system. Whatever independent volunteer forms of political expression exist of importance, these have as their immediate objective the aim of influencing the outcome of the struggle within and between the two major parties. S

The whole Left should realize that subjective desires cannot replace objective reality. Nor can the Left achieve anything by standing on the side lines as super-critics of everything and everyone that does not accept its own overall viewpoint. The Left, seeking a more fundamental reconstruction of society, can only help bring this advanced thinking to the people by being a part of their daily struggles and not by separating itself from them or erecting artificial barriers between it and the much vaster mass of forward-moving Americans. B

So long as the people see a concrete tangible difference between the two parties they will continue to cast their votes for the one which is somewhat better or, to put it another way, somewhat less worse. Nor will abstract arguments about the "lesser evil" change anything until the masses feel strong enough to go in the direction of a party representing the greater good. As things are developing today and have been since the New Deal, that day will most likely come when the party of the extreme Right is so badly routed and isolated that the fear of its national victory is no longer paramount. Then will come the day of reckoning in the Democratic Party as well. Until then, 3rd Party candidates should be put forward wherever this can help crystallize the mass movement and struggle, but they will be the exception and not the rule. Under no circumstances should they be put forward where this would mean a head-on collision with the labor or Negro people's movements or where the only result would be the victory of the ultra-right. But certainly the Left should actively urge the labor and Negro people's movements to begin fighting for increased representation, to put forth their own more advanced candidates in primary struggles, and to refuse to

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go along with machine-chosen political hacks. Likewise, it should help stimulate the formation of a liberal-progressive bloc in Congress and in state and city legislative bodies. §

The Left should grasp the truth of all past experience that to run 3rd party candidates just for spite may solve problems of personal frustration with the slowness of events, but will not add anything to the far more difficult, painstaking and arduous task of political regrouping, not as one may want it to take shape but as it actually is. In fact, any careless approach to this question will only discredit the very idea of independent political action. §

11) In the 1964 elections the Communist Party played an important and significant role. It helped bring greater clarity and a degree of unity to Left-minded people and by speaking to tens of thousands in its own name made a contribution to the victory that finally came. Recognizing the danger of the ultra-Right long before the brazen coup d'etat of Cow's Palace, the Communist Party was prepared for the specific character of the election struggle as it unfolded. This compares with those sections of the Left that had ridiculed the idea of an ultra-Right menace and were therefore caught completely unawares by the Goldwater-Dixiecrat bid for power. At first some of these groups tried to ignore its meaning. Even when they saw it for what it was, a specific form of American fascism, they recoiled from drawing correct tactical-political conclusions from their own analysis. For them there was no difference between going all out to defeat Goldwaterism and giving a blank check of endorsement for JOHNSON. For them it was either all the way or none of the way with JOHNSON, not just part of the way. §

The Communist Party can be rightfully proud of its correct basic analysis, its line of policy and the way it worked during the campaign. Never before were the ranks of the Party so united behind party policy as in the election struggle. §

Now a new phase of struggle is opening. This will be a continuation of the election struggle, yet different from it in many respects. In this period ahead we seek to strengthen our own party and its influence but not as against the rest of the Left or against the great popular forces not yet Communist or Left in their thinking. We seek to find the basis for a greater unity of the Left within the framework of a greater unity of all Americans fighting for their immediate needs and rights. §

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In the very next weeks the following tasks stand out:

1. First and foremost the development of the broadest movement to end U.S. involvement in the war in Viet Nam and to do all in our power to help end that war itself.
2. To exert maximum pressure for a change in seniority rules when the 89th Congress convenes in January; especially to keep the Goldwater-Dixiecrats from top committee posts.
3. To abolish HUAC as a step toward ending all aspects of McCarthyite witchhunting in American life.
4. To demand federal protection for the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the deep South, and to get the Johnson Administration to stop all federal funds to states that refuse to comply with federal law. §

In addition to the above most immediate mass questions there is need to press for a further reduction in world tension and an end to the Cold War against the USSR, China and Cuba; for recognition of People's China; for a world conference of all nuclear powers to ban the bomb; for opening reciprocal trade relations with Cuba and China, and for immediate withdrawal of all aid and all forms of U.S. involvement in the mercenary war against the Congolese peoples. §

In domestic policy there is need to press not alone for the immediate enactment of Medicare, but for a more basic extension of all social security and old-age benefits and for a crash program of ten billion dollars a year to combat poverty in America. In respect to strengthening the application of the Bill of Rights to all Americans it is necessary to win a new and stronger federal labor law which nullifies all anti-labor legislation and all so-called state right-to-work laws. It is also necessary to press state by state for real democratic reapportionment on the principle of one man one vote and to fight for the enforcement of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution for the reduction of congressional representation where states refuse to carry through such reapportionment or where they deny the right to vote to citizens. And together with all these it is necessary to get the incoming administration to stop all anti-communist prosecutions and persecutions under the McCarran or Smith Acts. §

Certainly around these and other issues there is ample room and need for Left unity and Left initiative and for unity between the Left and all other liberal and democratic forces in the land. §

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Such are the lessons and such are the tasks as we see them. An important period of struggle is over. An important period of struggle has begun. New opportunities have been opened up for important gains by the people. But these opportunities must be seized or they can be turned into their opposite. We have confidence they will be seized. The Communist Party pledges to work and struggle with might and main to help fulfill the mandate of November 3rd and to make the elections the beginning of a new forward advance of the American people. *B*

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Following the reading of GREEN's resolution, the discussion continued. After a brief comment by [redacted], CARL WINTER stated that this was a victory of the Negro and trade union forces. Only last year some people said that labor has been passive. But the results of the election prove to the contrary. The mere fact of the AFL-CIO unanimous endorsement of JOHNSON and HUMPHREY is such proof. *S*

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MIKE DAVIDOW remarked that the Party has gained greater recognition of the soundness of the Party position as a result of this election. We must be aware of the fact that the Rosen group is planning a trip for a group to Cuba and South Viet Nam. In light of factors such as this, the Party must use more initiative. *S*

This ended the first session of the meeting of the National Board. *S*

Also, on November 18, 1964, an executive session of the National Board was held, attended only by National Board members. During the course of this executive session, it was decided that the following individuals would constitute the official delegation of the CP, USA to the December 15, 1964, meeting of the Preparatory Commission in Moscow, USSR, in preparation for the World Conference of Communist and Workers Parties scheduled for mid-1965:

- HY LUMER
- [redacted]
- MORRIS CHILDS
- CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
- GIL GREEN

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The second session of the National Board meeting was held on November 19, 1964, also at the Hotel Martinique, New York City. This session was chaired by ANTHONY KRCHMAREK. During the morning the discussion of STACHEL's report on the USA elections continued. After comments by JAMES ALLEN, DOROTHY HEALEY, TOM DENNIS, [REDACTED] IRVING POTASH, and MICKEY LIMA, GUS HALL made the following comments in connection with STACHEL's report and GIL GREEN's resolution. HALL stated in essence as follows:

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Concerning the resolution read by Gil, I think that in general it is O.K. and we will set time aside for discussion and a vote on it. This was an historic election and, as a result of it, the Party's prestige was tremendously increased. Right now, I will speak on some of the weaknesses in the campaign. We reject the concept enunciated by JAMES FARLEY that "nothing changes after conventions." §

First of all, in the draft resolution we need a more careful and accurate formulation: we must be careful not to leave the concept that there was one kind of coalition before the elections and now there is another kind afterwards. This ignores the flexibility of the "anti-monopoly coalition." §

Secondly, on the idea that a new Party may emerge only after ultra-right threat is over, this is too rigid a concept. Also, we should rather leave open decisions on the idea that a new Party may be a "labor party." It may not be a third party. It could be the masses of the working class, Negroes, etc., replacing the Dixiecrats. There may be only two Parties, one old and one new. §

Thirdly, what do we mean by "Left"? This Left has to have a relationship to socialism in this world. This is necessary because socialist states do exist. Our approach to "left" needs further discussion. One tendency limits "left" to old groups or organized groups. We need to take into consideration trade unions and avoid giving the "left" in trade unions organizational forms. There are new formations in the trade union movement, but not necessarily an organized "opposition." There can be changes in trade unions. For example, the Steel Union may change. Abel, who is challenging for leadership, has a different background than McDonald. §

The peace issue is not unrelated to the test ban treaty. The Democratic Administration took a good position on this and also on the question of peaceful coexistence. Therefore, a real issue emerged. The same is true on the question of civil rights. These

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elections have shown an emergence of a new quality of mass thinking in the U.S. We, in the CP, USA, should raise our sights. The Party was too slow to accept this new fact of a fundamental political upsurge, which in some ways is like the upsurge in youth. We underestimated this upsurge and lagged behind. Electoral activity among the masses must be elevated to a new political level. We must understand that these elections were not merely a "political education." We need a new theoretical approach to view the elections as struggles, as beachheads of power in defense of democracy and ideas about socialism. §

There are some special questions within the framework of the elections which need re-examination such as the victory of Proposition 13 in California. All progressive, active currents were mobilized on this question. But the Negro masses were not so concerned. I cite these as "diversions" because the constitutional guarantees still do exist. Such diversions will be faced with boycotts and challenges in the courts. We have seen how the masses understand their own self-interest and voted for JOHNSON primarily on the issues of peace, civil rights, and economic issues. Where we do not understand or the masses do not defeat such questions, then the self-interest of Negro and labor movements is not yet understood. These are contradictions which are still evident and which are responsible for the passage of Proposition 13 in California. But moralizing is not enough. What did we do to find areas of self-interest of the masses and put them across? Politicians work on this basis even if they do so with demagoguery, but we and the progressives have not been so concrete and talk more of moral and ethical problems. Our literature does not always reflect these issues in a concrete and in a positive way to build on the foundation of self-interest. I realize that this is not always possible or easy, but we can show how the long-range result outweighs the short-range interests of the masses of the people. §

On independent political action: What did we do to promote and organize independent political actions? We must now find the next steps or next levels because old organizations such as COPE are not enough. Maybe the Teamsters Clubs organized as non-partisan organizations can be such a form. They can be on a higher political level than merely trade union election activity. During the campaign many of our Districts did not even know who are the people who are active in politics, such as the independents or progressive Democrats, etc. If we don't even know these forces, we cannot use initiative and, therefore, spontaneity is lacking. We do not want to be too narrow or keep

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our forces in our pocket. This independent movement needs our help and then we can exert influence on the consideration of candidates in primaries to include Negro, women, and labor candidates.

We must find ways to involve the entire CP membership in this struggle. The left has never been so isolated as were such groups as those around the "National Guardian," etc. But they did have an influence on our cadre. As a result, we were too apologetic on the slogan "Defeat Goldwater at All Costs." The results of our elections could have been much greater if not for these influences of these "leftists." We have become victims of our own demands. We acted in the manner of "what is possible?" This makes us seem conservative in the eyes of the militant youth. We confuse immediate demands with longer range propaganda demands. We neglect the formulation of laws, etc. It would give our Party a different image if we now use longer range propagandist demands.

In summary, I agree with JACK STACHEL's report and I also believe that the resolution read by GIL GREEN is a good draft.

After HALL's comments, JACK STACHEL spoke in summary. In essence, he stated I believe this was a good discussion. Basically, there are no differences although there were some problems raised which can be incorporated in the resolution. The report will be re-written to include the ideas and suggestions brought out during the discussion. In addition to the resolution, I believe we should work up a program of action in regard to some immediate steps to be taken.

At the afternoon session on November 19, 1964, and for the sessions thereafter, the following individuals were not in attendance:

JACK KLING
JOE NORTH
JIM ALLEN


TED BASSETT

The first report delivered was the report on the international situation by HY LUMER who stated in essence as follows:

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Two developments have taken place since our last discussion; first, the removal of KHRUSHCHEV and, secondly, the testing of the A-bomb by China. These two new developments occurred right after Gus' report at our last discussion. We had planned to publish Gus' report but in the view of some people, it was thought best not to publish it. §

The Communist Party of China's (CPC) position today remains unaltered. An example of this was their message to Algeria on the occasion of their anniversary in which the CPC stated that armed struggle was the only path. The CPC in regard to our own election said that there was no difference between GOLDWATER and JOHNSON, the "blue-eyed monsters of monopoly." §

AIDIT, head of the CP of Indonesia, recently remarked that an ideological agreement was far away because the CPSU persists in holding to the decisions of their 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses. The Japanese Party's reaction has been the same. §

The CPSU ideological position has been reaffirmed and remains the same, both domestically and internationally. In his speech greeting the Cosmonauts, the policy of peaceful coexistence was reiterated by Brezhnev. However, leftists will nevertheless attempt to use KHRUSHCHEV's exit. In this connection, the Indian CP stated that this exit "was not a victory" and the leftists' "hopes were dashed" when the policies of the CPSU were reaffirmed. §

Regardless of the reasons for the changes in the Soviet Union, there are now openings for exchanges with the CPC. The CPSU agreed to the CPC sending a delegation to the Soviet Union headed by CHOU En-lai for discussion of ideological matters and they have ceased the polemics. We greeted these as welcome developments. §

While the indications are that ideological differences remain, there has been avoided for the time being an open collision and the hope for unity between the CPSU and other CPs has increased. These events deserve encouragement but this is a process and unity is not yet a reality. The question of the settlement of ideological differences cannot be on a piecemeal basis. When there is a basic shift, then there are tactical differences, too. §

The drive by the CPC to split the world CP movement continues. The CPC has published letters of splinter groups. They have sent greetings to the Progressive Labor Party here in connection with their convention, which by the way has now been

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postponed until Easter. If there is a world conference, it is certain that such a conference could not invite these splintered groups. §

On the question of KHRUSHCHEV's removal, there has been both public and private information received explaining it. Even if we disagree on some things, we have no right to tell the Soviet comrades what to do. They reached tens of millions of their people and explained their action. We must take into consideration the fact that they have a different history and background. But we still think they should have made public KHRUSHCHEV's resignation and their failure to do so shows a lack of sensitivity and created fears that peaceful coexistence was in jeopardy as KHRUSHCHEV was a symbol of this philosophy. However, it is clear that the Chinese split was not the main reason for KHRUSHCHEV's removal, although the Chinese cite this as the reason since he, KHRUSHCHEV, was the "architect" of the ideological differences existing between them and the CPSU. They say it is good thing he has been removed. The CPSU did not create the split and wants to heal it. §

We do not need any more public statements at this time on KHRUSHCHEV's removal. We therefore do not go along with the Italians' sharpness on this matter. §

The polemics on the Chinese ideological line continues to go on even if without the name calling. I am not sure that public polemics will stop and we may have to contend with both the leftists and the Chinese in this regard. §

Recently we received a letter from GEORGE MEYERS about some leftists saying "JOHNSON's great society is fascism" and that "the working class is not a necessary ingredient for socialism." They cited the Chinese and Cuban revolutions as proof of this. §

The CPSU has continued to emphasize the need for a world conference and this was repeated by BREZHNEV in his November 7th speech. We supported the idea of such a conference and we continue to do so. In regard to the December 15th meeting, we have no official knowledge of any change in plans. Maybe this will be a preliminary meeting and the main meeting postponed to some later date. We would go along but continue to press for a world conference at a later date. §

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On the matter of the Chinese Peoples Republic's A-bomb test. We have opposed the spread of nuclear weapons and testing by the United States, Soviet Union, NATO, West Germany, France, etc. On these same grounds we objected to China getting nuclear weapons from the Soviet Union which would cause the imperialists to spread the nuclear weapons. Thus, we object to the Chinese explosion of an A-bomb although we have no objection to nuclear energy advances for the benefit of humanity and socialism. Up to now the bomb has been used against colored people, the Japanese and tested in areas of colored people. ✕

We must move in the direction of banning all tests. Any treaty in this connection would have no meaning unless in their negotiations, the Peoples Republic of China participates. This would have to include any negotiations at the United Nations or at any other location. Therefore, we must fight for the inclusion of China and while it will be difficult, we must do it. ✕

Following LUMER's report, there was a report on Viet Nam delivered by ARNOLD JOHNSON. In essence, JOHNSON's report was as follows:

There is a big debate presently going on in Washington whether to withdraw from or extend the war in South Viet Nam. For us, the first point on our agenda should be "End the War in Viet Nam." Broad masses have now expressed themselves for peace and this was shown in the recent election results. However, such expression must become more vocal if the government is to listen. People object to the brutality in South Viet Nam and this is true the world over. Sentiment is building up but if there is no mass support in this country, there can be no mass action. ✕

A vigil is set up every Saturday at Times Square and 29th Street in New York City on the Viet Nam war. General TAYLOR will shortly be in the country for five days and this would be a good time for demonstrations. ✕

We should utilize all organizations and groups, etc., to speak up on the Viet Nam question at colleges, at universities, before women's groups, in private conversation, etc. Later, a conference should be held in Washington. A good CP pamphlet like Gus' "Eleventh Hour" is needed. Articles should be published in "The Worker" and in "Political Affairs." ✕

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In brief discussion following JOHNSON's report, GIL GREEN stated that the government may sharpen the war, creating a crisis and then get better footing for negotiations. We are in favor of a cease fire in South Viet Nam. We must get out and save lives and seek a 14 power conference. \$

GUS HALL stated that we must tell the world that South Viet Nam constitutes a crisis in world peace. We must tell the world this week and follow this with other actions. \$

On November 20, 1964, the meeting of the CP, USA National Board reconvened at the Hotel Martinique, New York City, and commenced with the discussion of HY LUMER's report on the international situation which had been given the previous day. This discussion was participated in by the following:

BOB THOMPSON \$

Maybe we should not have discussed Hy's report; maybe we were not ready for such adult discussion. Perhaps we should leave it alone until we are ready. Hy's approach to the problem was feeble--these are weighty problems. We still haven't gotten all the information we need and that we would like to have. \$

On the question of relationships in the international communist movement between socialist countries. When you say "prospects are opening up for changing the course" that lead to collision and for new relations, this is a serious change. Yet, Hy said nothing has changed. This is nonsense. \$

I am disturbed by Hy's article in "Political Affairs." He just charged into the serious problems with quotations. He just rules out the CPC as a Marxist-Leninist Party. I am convinced that there will be no departure from Marxist-Leninist principles. But there is a change of course from collision to increased unity of action and policy relative to the efforts of imperialism to spread war and colonialism. Both sides are changing. The CPSU leadership is making a determined effort to ease the discussion and to avoid foolish things, like their statement on opium. A period of "rational discussion" now lies ahead. There will be many changes. In regard to the Presidium meeting of the CPSU, the explanations given there were naive and frivolous. \$

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We must remember that our prestige is at stake. If we repeat "it is not true," this is their explanation. We must give fuller explanation to the fact that we are a party of the American working class, the flesh and blood of our country. We must not like NY's article exacerbate the international situation or attack the Chinese as not being Marxist-Leninists. S

GUS HALL S

This is a problem at the moment and it is a fact of life. We thought of postponing this discussion. At the present time there is not yet a new situation but we don't know how it will develop in the future. S

BOB's reaction to NY's report proves that we do need such a discussion as this. BOB's remarks were too sharp, uncalled for, it is horrible to use language like "feeble," "pedantic," "childlike," etc. Maybe there have been weaknesses in our handling of this problem but these were not weaknesses like those of children. NY was told to report on this matter in a "low key" by me. S

BOB thinks that the CPSU has "changed course" away from collision. This is not so. But if we put it as BOB does, the CPSU-CPC differences are responsible for the removal of KHRUSHCHEV. How much KHRUSHCHEV's personal role in relations with China figured in as the cause of his removal I don't know, but I do know it was not basic. S

The reasons for the differences is rather the Chinese Party's departure from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Life will develop and show the reasons for the change in the leadership of the CPSU. S

On BOB's idea that we are a "part of the American working class." We have to see in what context this is placed. The posture of "autonomy" can never be established in the form of "anti-Sovietism." It is related to our ideological problems and to our cadre. Some Parties use anti-Sovietism "opportunistically" to establish their autonomy. The Italian CP is an example of this. This is not always helpful and in fact now it has turned into its opposite. There is an affinity between CPs and socialist states. How to handle the question of autonomy is really the question. S

The core of bourgeois ideology is anti-Sovietism-- not just anti-socialist. We have comrades who think we can use "a little anti-Sovietism." S

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Sometimes it is difficult to hide these ideological differences but here the blame, too, rests with the CPC who started it. We were sharp in reply on a matter which we did not start. §

About developments in the Soviet Union. Here, too, there is a difference as to what the Parties say amongst themselves and what they say publicly. This was our objection to the type of debate started by the CPC. Parties do raise questions, probe and disagree privately. §

Maybe we did not get all the full answers on KHRUSHCHEV's removal. We think KHRUSHCHEV's resignation should have been made public. Perhaps we do not agree with what happened at the Central Committee meeting or on KHRUSHCHEV's removal or on their concept bourgeois and socialist democracy. But maybe we are not all correct and they are not all wrong. §

Some ask did they give us full explanations? Some complained they didn't give us all the reasons and facts and said we can't accept those they did give us. I think the reasons for KHRUSHCHEV's removal were partially based on the fact that they feared the popularity of KHRUSHCHEV and that possibly KHRUSHCHEV felt that such removal would not be accepted. Maybe they feared to move without mobilization. We inquired of them on the existence of the alleged 29 points and in response to our message they responded by a complete denial of the existence of such 29 points. §

GEORGE MEYERS §

I have talked to some leftists and pro-Chinese and they said that KHRUSHCHEV was removed because he was anti-Chinese. Some other leftist youth told me that the Cuban and Chinese revolutions show no need for the working class. All attacked the U.S. CP and claimed it was full of stool pigeons. They claimed we missed the boat in the 30's and now in the 60's and now say let the U.S. CP step aside. The Trotskyists are continuing this kind of a campaign against us. §

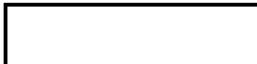
DOROTHY HEALY §

The use of the words, "feeble," "pedantic," by BOB THOMPSON is not as bad as the use of the words "anti-Soviet" by GUE. I agree we must debate and argue but use no names. We didn't get all the information we needed. MY's article in "Political Affairs" should never have appeared (on mistakes of CPC.) §

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accept the reasons for KHRUSHCHEV's removal or for an international meeting, which we keep on supporting. The split between the CPC and CPSU has now become a factional fight and our leadership has become enmeshed in this factional fight. The question is now how can we resolve our factional fight.



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Where do we go from here in the world debate? There is agreement on that. We must establish normal relations between the parties and seek an end to name calling and at the same time we must expose "splinter groups."

We favor the international conference in order to prevent a split and to seek maximum agreement. The Chinese were responsible for the collision course. In the future maybe more parties will disagree publicly. The world movement will be split apart if we do not stop this.

IRVING POTASH

HY's report was a serious effort but he did fail to place China as a real socialist state. Complete negation of KHRUSHCHEV reflects badly on the CPSU leadership, but the CPC is responsible for "the collision course."

MORRIS CHILDS

I think MICKEY should be able to take it since he irresponsibly dishes it out. We can't understand the erroneous ideas of the CPC sympathizers who slander the CPSU and first of all our Party. Who set the "collision course?"

Did we attack the CPC or they attacked us without notice or principle?

Is fighting for peaceful coexistence a Russian issue or is it one of our main principles in the fight for peace?

Is the fight for disarmament in the interests of the American people or only for the Soviet people?

Is nuclear fallout injurious only to certain peoples or to all peoples? Will the Chinese A-bomb improve the control of armaments or spread them?

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We the CP, USA favor the partial test ban treaty as do most of the American people proven by the election results. What have BOB, MICKEY and GIL to say about this? S

Who organized factions and replaced principles? The CPC on an international scale and is now giving support to renegades from communism in the USA. Who supports the ROSEN group? the CPC. S

We are fighting for Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the American working class when we oppose the line of the CPC. Yes, we favor unity as does the CPSU but without giving up our principles of Marxism-Leninism. S

Can anyone conceive where the CP, USA would be today if we said "There is no difference between a JOHNSON and a GOLD-WATER"? Or that there is no threat of fascism in the USA, only the danger of imperialism? S

Is it true that the USA as the CPC says is the only imperialism? S

If we supported the CPC, we would have to separate ourselves from the working class of the USA, Negro and white. Who used [redacted] to try to split the Negro freedom movement in favor of civil war--it was the CPC. I agree with GUS, we will fight for the unity of our Party. S

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HENRY WINSTON S

I agree that NY's report should have been in low key. However, BOB reacted and asked for a change in the method which as GIL has said could lead to an armed clash of the two great socialist states. This is a mistaken idea with all the blame placed on the CPSU leadership and it ignores the decisions of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses and all the concepts of peaceful coexistence. This was the essence of the debate-- this was the key in the debate internationally. GIL fell into the trap when he places peaceful coexistence as hindering colonial and national liberation. GIL has a paternalistic theory on China. Why fight for democracy in the USSR and not in China where none exists at all? We are not doing justice to the national liberation movement if we do not expose the racism of the CPC. The unity of the working class demands this type of struggle. Certainly, mistakes have been made, but have been made within the framework of the general policy. S

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I recognize there is a greater need for direction and wider democracy in the Soviet Union. But this is a continuing fight and it is gaining in the Soviet Union.

Discussion and exchanges here are being held to establish a common point of view in the Party. At this point the collective then comes to common conclusions.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

The change in the Soviet Union is an advance and shows that the collective is governing.

CARL WINTER

If KHRUSHCHEV's removal resulted because of his attitudes towards the CPC, then why don't the same few individuals ask for the removal of MAO? Why their silence? Why only discuss China? Why do they leave out such important problems as West Germany.

JACK STACHEL

We are not in a faction as MICKEY said. We participate in debate that concerns us. If we followed the CPC line, we would have to close shop in the CP, USA.

GUS HALL

Our discussions today should raise the following "how to preserve the unity of our Party." It is better to discuss it now rather than after the damage has been done. For our own good, unity of our Party is needed unless we want to allow the disunity of the world movement to affect us.

We should be aware that the changes in the CPSU have caused confusion among the world Parties, particularly on basic questions of policy on such matters as peaceful coexistence, the inevitability of war, peaceful transition to socialism, etc. This has resulted from the fact that some parties think that KHRUSHCHEV's removal was because he was wrong on these basic questions of policy. The Cuban Party is a good example of this confusion according to our latest information. The Cubans are now saying "nuclear war is not as horrible as KHRUSHCHEV said."

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We will now have to fight more skillfully for these basic policies, I enumerated. I question whether some of the comrades really understand me. MICKEY earlier misinterpreted my informal talk with the San Francisco Board. On the question at the time as to whether KHRUSHCHEV's removal was because of his China policy, I had said no--it may not have been and on the question whether this was an issue among the CPSU leadership, I told him I did not know. S

On the question of the "cult," KHRUSHCHEV lately did follow in STALIN's way to a point, not completely, but it is important to note that the cult was clipped by the collective before it flowered. That is important. But, is it not the truth that China in MAO has a really good example of the flourishing of the cult? Why do the people who discuss the Soviet Union keep quiet on this? S

The central feature of the bourgeoisie ideology, anti-Sovietism, has a basis in the left of the U.S. today. It penetrates into our ranks through middle class people in and around the CP. The "National Guardian" uses this instrument. Petty bourgeoisie nationalism is also a very important factor. S

At this moment there are sharp contradictions in Southeast Asia involving U.S. and China but still the ruling class considers the Soviet Union the main enemy. S

GIL spoke on "equality and cooperation of socialist nations." GIL was wrong in the way he was quoting BREZHNEV and he could have cited KHRUSHCHEV and other Soviet leaders who had made similar statements for the last ten years. S

On GIL's argument that if the conference of world CPs was held, it would mean "excommunication of China." Whoever contended that this was the aim. We never did, the CPSU never did. S

We, the CP, USA, could have been more helpful if we fought harder for our principles against the Chinese. S

The way we discuss things in these meetings, people would think our disagreements were with the USSR and the CPSU rather than with the Peoples Republic of China and the CPC. It appears that way for fundamental reasons. I object to using the change in the CPSU leadership in order to change the course of ideological discussion and in an effort to try to divert it. KHRUSHCHEV alone was not responsible for the basic differences

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which did and still do exist. The CPSU never placed it that way. If I believed that cutting out ideological discussion would bring unity to the world movement, I would keep quiet for a year. §

MY LUMER §

In summarizing, I will only hit on some of the main discussion. My report was not to have been a definitive or a major report. The situation with which it dealt was too fluid and I only emphasized that a possibility did exist for discussions. BOB was wrong to say that I said "no change." I repeat there is "no change" in the situation. There is no change and I repeat this, in the ideological position of both the CPSU and the CPC. As to whether KHRUSHCHEV's attitude regarding the CPC was a major issue I said no because the Soviet comrades did not say it was although we do understand that it may have been a point of discussion. Since my report was not for the public, we make no statements. §

In the discussion we have had here, we were surveying the invisible parts of an iceberg. My article in the November "Political Affairs" was described as "pedantic semantics." With this observation I do not agree. A central point in my "Political Affairs" article was that the CPC was ideologically nationalistic. Whether this was a timely comment or not is another matter. I had extracted this phrase out of one of Gus' earlier articles. In connection with that article in the November "Political Affairs," perhaps in the light of the conversation at this meeting, I would not take a second look and perhaps not have used such language. §

On the question of democracy in the USSR, the point I made was that they followed procedures established by their rules and constitution. This was a definite advance compared to the past (STALIN's time). On the matter of the Chinese reaction to the Soviet change of leadership. MICKEY's argument was that this is proof that there was substance to the charge. But it is significant to note that the CPC, itself, made the move to be invited to Moscow and this would show a "thaw" in China also and that they, too, have problems. §

I quoted BREZHNEV for opposite reasons than GIL did. I quoted him to show this was a reaffirmation of policy and not something new. §

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On the question of "excommunication." It was the New Zealand Party and other Parties supporting the Chinese that stated that to really hold a conference which they did not attend is "excommunication." ✕

On anti-Sovietism, I agree with Gus that within the left itself it does exist and that it exists in our own ranks. Some comrades give a "little" on this anti-Sovietism and others give in completely in the end. ✕

On our resolution of the last meeting dealing with the international meeting we said "while language agreed to even if softer, a basic disagreement persists." This meeting has proved this. ✕

The session of the meeting of the National Board held on November 21, 1964, was chaired by DOROTHY HEALEY. ✕

The first report was that of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the status of the racial struggle. In essence, LIGHTFOOT stated as follows:

The main problems confronting the Negro today in his struggle for racial equality are: first, how to expand the Negro labor alliance; and, secondly, how to place working class leaders at the helm of the Negro freedom movement. ✕

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is calling a conference on "State of the Race" as a result of a resolution of the Negro American Labor Council. This will be a summit meeting of Negro leaders dealing with the subject of how to move from the present level of struggle to higher forms and how to raise the issues and what methods and tactics are to be used. This meeting will include all Negro leaders, including Muslims, but not the communists. Originally, the date set for this summit meeting was October. But, in order to carry out the struggle against GOLDWATER, there was a postponement of it until sometime in January. We want our Party primed to participate in this conference at its maximum capability; Districts should begin to work on this at once. ✕

One of the chief characteristics of the Negro freedom movement now, after the election, is that it has no dependence on LYNDON B. JOHNSON. There are no illusions, even if JOHNSON's intentions are not questioned. The January conference will be the first general pattern of things to come and the beginning of the renewal of the struggle for Negro freedom, although other Negro organizations will and are holding some meetings now. The character of the conference will help to unfold the initiative of the workers even if it is an all-class conference. This conference can place the central problem of the Negro liberation movement. ✕

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In the South there is still the de facto Jim Crowism today even though there is a civil rights law now. The economic issues still remain and the Negro there has made little progress in this regard. The class outlook will determine some of these issues. S

The Negro freedom movement in the North has, in some instances, gotten embroiled in school segregation and other issues like "bussing," etc. But its general direction was not unsatisfying. On the issue of jobs and work discrimination, little has been accomplished although there are some exceptions. For example, in Chicago 200 additional jobs for Negroes have been secured at Motorola as well as jobs with the railroads. In San Francisco, there has been some similar success. In New York, there is a serious struggle now for jobs for Negroes in the breweries. Although recently 300 job complaints were placed before the President by Reverend HILL, there has been no mass struggle on this issue. S

The Negro summit conference will organize a real struggle for economic demands. We should not underestimate achievements in this connection even if they are not always visible. However, the job fight will not happen of itself and conferences can even result in very little or nothing if there is no organization on lower levels and in each city. The question is then how to translate conferences' decisions into reality. The NALC is not just RANDOLPH, it must include all the people. Anti-communist inclusion clauses, like those in the NALC, will mean little if there is a struggle. There must be local follow-ups to dramatize the job question. They must depend upon us not as Monday morning quarterbacks but as initiators. S

Following the report by LIGHTFOOT, [redacted] delivered a report on some organizational problems of the CP, USA. In essence, this report was as follows:

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This is not a full report. It is just for information. While we need to discuss our fight for legality and our mass work, we will limit discussion here to some problems and tasks. S

At the present, there is a gap between possibilities and the existing situation. We have had no growth of CP members; no marked increase of the press; and no great increase in our finances. With few exceptions, we are not yet moving upward and you might say that there is even some stagnation. We have no real concentration and sometimes we drift and act only with spontaneity. All of this could indicate a lack of confidence in

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the working class and the Party and could be evidence of routinism. Our way out is concentration, especially among the workers, both Negro and white, and the youth. All levels of Party organization must participate in such concentration. We should concentrate in three of the large Districts like Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, as well as in the South and in Kentucky. However, each District needs concentration among the working class, both Negro and white, and the youth. We must find a greater role for the youth. We should develop a built-in plan for control and check-up. §

At the present time there is a tug and pull in the CP. Some stress mass work and others stress use of mass organizations and are influenced by the legal status of the Party. We underestimate the possibility of left forms of work in mass organizations. §

The public activity of the CP is better but is still pretty spotty. In some places mass work is accepted against left forms of work. If the left is united, we can influence the masses of the people in a progressive direction. Without left forms, the CP will be isolated. The left forms of work are a necessary precondition for the breaking of isolation of the CP, USA. Some, however, fear that these left forms of work would become substitutes for the Party. This would only be so if there was no recruiting. There can be no recruiting for the CP without concentration and the building up of left forms of work. We must have planned recruiting, club by club. We need an inner-Party paper. Our cadre is a particularly critical area. We need young cadre and there are areas where we could move forward if we had but one or two leading cadre. We need a cadre training program on a crash basis. §

Presently, we have plans to reorganize the education department into two parts. As to the work of the National Office, splits, deaths, etc., have created some problems. But we do have a few new faces like CARL and GIL. However, we need more people and operating commissions and we must establish new ones. We also need a clear division of labor. Oftentimes there is too much on the shoulders of one. We also have too many ad hoc committees. §

The organization department is now preparing a study and this will be concretized on the basis of studies of the Districts. This should be finished by the end of November and will be a basis for a national office report. §

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This, the last session of the National Board meeting, was concluded with a statement by GUS HALL to the following effect:

In view of the developments on the international scene, I want to once again raise the question of Party unity. We should take care as to how we report these differences and be careful that we do not stress the differences. The enemy will try to make an effort to utilize these differences to slander the CP and its leadership. Leading comrades cannot be silent partners at gatherings where the Party is being undermined. §

The new CPC editorial, that is the one which appears in this morning's "New York Times," is important as it "crowds of victory" and of vindication by KHRUSHCHEV's downfall because he had opposed the Peking line. How will we present this to the Party and explain it? There are some specific things we need to do. In the editorial, the CPC talks of KHRUSHCHEV's removal as a defeat of "modern revisionism" and says that anyone who says that "peaceful transition is possible," are traitors, etc. This editorial is a mirror of the history of the international discussion. The Chinese repeat their pattern of three and four years ago. They always torpedo agreements. §

What should our reaction be to this? Should we be silent? Tomorrow the leftist sects will make this an issue. If we are silent, it will add to the confusion. We cannot at this point even take it for granted that our own Party will understand. I favor the issue being met and that we answer this editorial. It affects all our work, the Party, and our country. §

We will take no vote on NY's report and just consider it a continuation of the discussion and we will prepare a statement. Subcommittee is working on the statement. §

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our forces in our pocket. This independent movement needs our help and then we can exert influence on the consideration of candidates primaries to include Negro, women, and labor candidates.

We must find ways to involve the entire CP membership in this struggle. The left has never been so isolated as were such groups as those around the "National Guardian," etc. But they did have an influence on our cadre. As a result, we were too apologetic on the slogan "Defeat Goldwater at All Costs." The results of our elections could have been much greater if not for these influences of these "leftists." We have become victims of our own demands. We acted in the manner of "what is possible?" This makes us seem conservative in the eyes of the militant youth. We confuse immediate demands with longer range propaganda demands. We neglect the formulation of laws, etc. It would give our Party a different image if we now use longer range propagandist demands.

In summary, I agree with JACK STACHEL's report and I also believe that the resolution read by GIL GREEN is a good draft.

After HALL's comments, JACK STACHEL spoke in summary. In essence, he stated I believe this was a good discussion. Basically, there are no differences although there were some problems raised which can be incorporated in the resolution. The report will be re-written to include the ideas and suggestions brought out during the discussion. In addition to the resolution, I believe we should work up a program of action in regard to some immediate steps to be taken.

At the afternoon session on November 19, 1964, the following individuals were in attendance:

JACK KLING
JOE NORTH
JIM ALLEN


TED BASSETT

The first report delivered was the report on the international situation by HY LOMER who stated in essence as follows:



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
December 7, 1964

157-0-34

Meeting Sponsored by Southern
Conference Educational Fund., Inc.
at Poughkeepsie, New York,
December 3, 1964
Racial Matter

[Redacted]

New York State Police,

advised on December 4, 1964, that on the evening of December 3, 1964, a meeting was held at the Second Baptist Church, Poughkeepsie, New York, sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). The meeting was open to the public and the subject was listed as 'What Really Gives Today in the South.'

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Speakers were Mr. Slater H. King, listed as a leader in 'The Albany Movement,' Albany, Georgia; Reverend James A. Zellner, Pastor, the Community Church, Valparaiso, Florida, and William H. Melish, who in a news release was described as Eastern Representative, SCEF.

Approximately 100 persons were in attendance. The meeting was orderly and no incidents or demonstrations occurred.

Reverend Zellner spoke of the 'good people' in the south and that their conscience was awakening. Mr. Slater King related that his wife, who was five months pregnant, lost her baby as the result of a beating administered to her when she brought clothing and food to integration workers who had been arrested in Albany, Georgia.

Mr. Melish related about his trip through the South and the work the SCEF was doing in Louisiana in challenging the subversion and anarchy laws of that state. He also spoke of his pride in his son Bill, who, of his own volition, had volunteered to work in the South in promoting integration and voter registration, and who had been staying in a freedom house in Vicksburg, Mississippi, which had been bombed.

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____
This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside
your agency.

SCEF.

101-733735-725

12/7/64

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-34)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-892)
SUBJECT: MEETING SPONSORED BY SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., AT POUGHKEEPSIE,
NEW YORK, 12/3/64
RACIAL MATTER.

Attached are 3 copies of a LHM concerning a meeting in Poughkeepsie, NY, on the night of 12/3/64 sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund., Inc. (SCEF).

According to [redacted] the Dutchess County Human Relation Council, the Dutchess County Council of Churches, originally had been approached to sponsor the meeting, but when WILLIAM H. MELISH had been indicated as a speaker, the Dutchess County Council of Churches withdrew. DONALD SCOTT, President of the Dutchess County Chapter of the NAACP, originally agreed to chair the meeting; however, after conferring with the New York office of the NAACP, withdrew. The SCEF then succeeded in getting the [redacted] The Second Baptist Church, Vassar and Mill Streets, Poughkeepsie, NY, to furnish the meeting place.

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According to [redacted] Investigator, New York State Police, who is assigned to a special squad, and who was in attendance at the meeting, SLATER KING referred to "Brother HOOVER" who in all his years as head of the FBI had never publicly used abusive language about any criminals or hoodlums, but who saw fit to be abusive to MARTIN LUTHER KING. He also quoted Mr. HOOVER as saying the FBI could not "wat-russe" all

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3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)

1 - NY 100-153735

1 - NY 157-1272-Sub D)

1 - NY 100-80294 ([redacted]) (47)

1 - New York

LMB:meb (8)

100-153735-726
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
JAN 10 1965
FBI - NEW YORK
[Signature]

NY 157-892

the young people who went into the South to help in integration, and commented that when three of those young people are murdered, it becomes more than a matter of just wet-nursing.

Prior to the meeting, Mr. MELISH was overheard speaking to a Negro woman and saying that he had been a close friend and neighbor of WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS, and that upon DU BOIS' death, the country of Ghana had paid for Mr. MELISH's transportation to the funeral in order that he could deliver the eulogy for Dr. DU BOIS. He stated this request had been made by Dr. DU BOIS in his will.

A review of the NYO indices failed to reveal any information identifiable with Rev. JAMES A. ZELLNER.

The source mentioned in LHM is

This LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information furnished by and confidential sources used in characterizations, the unauthorized disclosure of which would hinder the national defense.

b7D



~~SECRET~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
December 7, 1964

BU 100-106670

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-02-2011

Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

On December 3, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Bayard Rustin (Organizer of the March on Washington) was in contact with one [redacted] of London, England, on that date. The contact, the source said, was in regard to the visit of Martin Luther King (President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) in London, England, while en route to Norway to receive the Nobel Prize. Rustin took the opportunity to advise [redacted] that King was scheduled to arrive in London at 9:30 A.M., December 5, 1964.

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[redacted] in commenting on a statement that King was to make when he arrived in London, told Rustin to ask King to include in his statement words to the effect that he was "linking the peace issue and the race issue with our South African work and his American work." Rustin said in reply, that he was putting in his statement the three great problems: the struggle for peace, the struggle for human dignity for the Negro, and the war on poverty. Rustin said King would link "our South and your South Africa" at that point of his statement.

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In concluding their contact, Rustin told [redacted] that 41 people would accompany King on his trip.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~ Searched _____
Group 1 Serialized _____
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-153735-727

~~SECRET~~

Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1954, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1 column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape

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Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

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12/7/64

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-100670)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153805)
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.
SM-C

Re NY teletype dated 12/3/64, captioned "b6
concerning a conversation of BAYARD RUSTIN and [redacted] b7C
[redacted] of London, England.

Enclosed are six copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned and dated as above.

The source who furnished the information used in the letterhead memorandum was NY 4212-S*.

The sources who characterized BAYARD RUSTIN were NY 2389-S* and NY 4212-S*. The source who furnished the characterization of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was [redacted] b7D

This letterhead memorandum is classified "secret" because it contains information from NY 4212-S*, a source who has furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the NY area and the Communist infiltration thereof. In order to protect the source, this classification is utilized.

- 4-Bureau (100-100670) (encl. 6) (RM)
 - (1-100-442529) (CIRM)
 - 2-Atlanta (100-3580) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (encl. 2) (RM)
 - (1-100-6070) (CIRM)
 - 1-NY (100-40729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (42)
 - 1-NY (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
 - 1-NY (100-153585) (KING, JR.) (42)
- JMK:rmv
(10)

100-153805-728

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 7 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

File - Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

File: 100-153735 Vol 11 Date: 9/20/80

Class: Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

129 Letter 12-8-89 from Director to
New Haven CRM

Serial sent to Bureau per Buairtel to NY,
dtd 9/15/80, titled:

BERNARD S. LEE vs.
CLARENCE M. KELLEY, et al.
Bufile 62-117194; NYfile 62-15273

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONF. (SCLC) vs.
CLARENCE M. KELLEY, et al.
Bufile 62-117193; NYfile 62-15273

Section #19

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To

From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date charged

Employee

Location

FBI/DOJ



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bu 157-1676

New York, New York
December 8, 1964

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-02-2011

Re: Mississippi Summer Project
Racial Matters

On December 3, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Bayard Rustin (Organizer of the March on Washington) was in contact with [redacted] (Phonetic) of Connecticut on that date. [redacted] apprised Rustin of changes in the Mississippi branch of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He said there was a new leadership composed of three: [redacted] (Last Name Unknown) and [redacted] (Last Name Unknown). Furthermore, [redacted] will be the new program director, according to [redacted]

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[redacted] said that he had been talking to colleges (apparently recruiting for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and was at Harvard on December 2, 1964, and was to speak at Yale on December 3, 1964.

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Rustin said he had recently talked with [redacted] [redacted] at which time he received a hint of impending changes, but had had no knowledge that they were already effective.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-153735-730

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Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

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Re: Mississippi Summer Project
Racial Matters

[redacted] remarked that he heard [redacted] speak at Harvard on the night of December 3, 1964, and he drew the conclusion that [redacted] was certain of inevitable defeat.

With regard to his appearances at various colleges, [redacted] said he had seven more to visit, and asked Rustin what line he should take. He said at one time it was hard to get "kids" to go to Mississippi and, when "we" did get them, "we sent them with proper education - now everyone wants to go to Mississippi and if they go without the proper education, they will only be helping the [redacted] crowd."

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Rustin agreed with [redacted], commenting that he was in a very difficult position and suggested that he just go along doing the best he could until January, 1964, at which time a "few of us" can get together and decide something.

Rustin said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Board, would discuss the Mississippi situation on January 4, 1965. He said the official position "higher up" in the NAACP was to pull out (out of COFO) but, that John Avis would fight it.

According to Rustin, on the last two days of January, 1965, all of the responsible Negro leadership will be called together by A. Philip Randolph (President of the Negro American Labor Council, NALC). When the agenda for this meeting was being prepared, the NAACP wanted to list on the agenda a full discussion of COFO.

-2-
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Re: Mississippi Summer Project
Racial Matters

Rustin said with regard to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Martin Luther King has been persuaded by him (Rustin) to remain in COFO. Furthermore, King had agreed to place more responsible people and money into COFO.

In concluding their contact, Rustin advised to try and "muddle" through the situation for now, and educate where he could, but cautioned him not to reveal the entire set up just now.

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-3-

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Re: Mississippi Summer Project
Racial Matters

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates

-4-
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Re: Mississippi Summer Project
Racial Matters

and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

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F B I

Date: 12/8/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-1676)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1175)
SUBJECT: MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed are six copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned and dated as above.

The source of the information in the letterhead memorandum was NY 4212-S*.

The sources who characterized BAYARD RUSTIN were NY 2359-S* and NY 4212-S*.

The source who characterized BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was

b7D

4-Bureau (157-1676) (Encl. 6) (RM)
(1-100-442529) (CIRM)
2-Atlanta (Encl. 2) (RM)
(1-100-) (SNCC)
2-Jackson (Encl. 2) (157-) (SNCC) (RM)
(1-157-) (COFO)
1-New Haven (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-New York (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (42)
1-New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
1-New York (157-1175) (42)

b6
b7C

JMK:rmv
(13)

100-153735-731
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
DEC 8 1964
FBI-NEW YORK
SCATON

NY 157-1175

The files of the NYO were reviewed as to the identities of [REDACTED], [REDACTED] however, the file review failed to furnish sufficient identifiable information to document these names.

b6
b7c

LEAD

JACKSON DIVISION

Will attempt to identify the above from information in your files.

This letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 4212-S*, a source who has furnished highly sensitive information with regard to the racial situation in the NY area and the Communist infiltration thereof. In view of the need to protect this highly placed source, this classification is used.

Optional Form No. 10
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-7631) DATE: 12/8/64

FROM: SA B. E. DEFFENBAUGH, JR.

RE: CP, USA
SOUTHERN REGION
SAN ANTONIO DIVISION
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

On 11/12/64, [redacted] furnished the writer an oral report which was subsequently transcribed and thereafter authenticated by the Informant on 11/16/64. This report is located in [redacted] and contains the following information.

b7D

1-100-7631 [redacted]
1-100-7232 [redacted]
1-100-9378 [redacted]
1-100-9774 [redacted]
1-100-242-Sub 2 (SECURITY MEASURES)
1-100-9558 (PASO)
1-100-242-Sub 20 (MASS ORG.)
1-157-272 (CORE, SAN ANTONIO BRANCH) (CREDEN)
1-157-340 [redacted]
1-157-94 (RM, GENERAL)
1-157-94-Sub 1 (RM, SAN ANTONIO)
1-100-7050 (FUNDS)
1-100-242-Sub 6 (POLITICAL ACT.)
1-100-242-Sub 17 (EDUCATION)
1-100-242-Sub 8 (DOMESTIC ADM. ISSUES)
1-100-9784 (DCA)
1-100-242-Sub 11 (YOUTH MATTERS) (CARLSON)
1-100-9845 (CIRM)
1-100-9700 (U.S. VS CP)
1-100-8921 (CP PROS., STATE OF TEXAS)
1-100-7260 (P & P)
1-105-2413 ("ALL POINTS OF VIEW")

b6
b7C

1- [redacted]
(COPIES CONT. PAGE 2)
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b7D

100-153735-732

SEARCHED
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INDEXED
FILED
DEC 11 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

N
MY

SA 100-7631 [REDACTED]

b7D

COPIES CONTINUED:

1-Cincinnati (100-"The Peacemaker") (RM)

6-New York (RM)

(1-100-CP, ORGANIZATION)

(1-100-GUS HALL-BENJAMIN DAVIS DEFENSE COM.)

(1-100-Political Affairs)

(1-100-CNVA)

(1-100-CIRM)

(1-100-The Catholic Worker)

100-151548

3-San Francisco (RM)

(1-100-52664 DCA)

(1-100 [REDACTED])

(1-100-YOUTH MATTERS)

b6
b7C

1-Albuquerque (100-2711 DCA) (RM)

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED]

SA 100-7631

[redacted] 9/16/64)

b7D

Source advised that [redacted] continues as the [redacted]. He has been a [redacted] in San Antonio from at least July, 1957, to the present time. He continues his efforts to strengthen the CP in this area. [redacted] has been a [redacted] on the [redacted] of the CP of Texas from at least July, 1957. He has been [redacted] of Texas from at least February, 1958. In January, 1962, the [redacted] and its offices were technically abolished; however, it was agreed the committee and its officers would continue to function, and [redacted] has continued to do so to the present time.

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NY 694-S* (1/7/60)

Source advised that on that date JAMES E. JACKSON, Secretary of Negro and Southern Affairs, CP, USA, identified [redacted] as a [redacted] CP, USA, and [redacted] in Texas.

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[redacted] (9/19/63)

b7D

Source advised that the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO) is an organization formed in about 1960 which today has chapters throughout the State of Texas. Its primary purpose is the political education of individuals of Latin American descent and it is not tied to either the Republican or the Democratic Party.

San Antonio cannot properly characterize other individuals mentioned in this report.

SA 100-7631

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE USED IN THE EVENT THE
ABOVE INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE
NAME OF THE INFORMANT. THE NAMES OF [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CANNOT BE PROPERLY CHARACTERIZED AND THEREFORE SHOULD
NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU FOR ANY REASON.

b6
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 12/10/64

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION
IS-C
(OO: NY)

On 11/17/64, NY 2362-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on above date that a meeting of leading CP functionaries was held at CP Headquarters, New York City. The meeting appeared to be a preliminary discussion prior to the meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, which was scheduled for the following day.

In attendance were the following:

[REDACTED]
GUS HALL
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
GIL GREEN
HY LUMER
CARL WINTER
HENRY WINSTON
ROBERT THOMPSON

b6
b7c

- 3 - Chicago (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (GIL GREEN)
 - (1 - 100-) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 3 - Detroit (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CARL WINTER)
 - (1 - 100-) (HELEN WINTER)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
- 2 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-128255) [REDACTED] (42)
- 1 - New York (100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (42)

b6
b7c

COPIES CONTINUED

- 1 - New York (100-80641) (42)

HCO:gmd
(44) *[Signature]*

100-153735-733

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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DEC 10 1964	
NEW YORK	

[Signature]

NY 100-80641

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[redacted] opened the meeting by saying that he would like to take up the personnel question, but that he had so much regarding the various districts that the matter could not be fully discussed today.

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GUS HALL stated that he would like to comment with regard to the question of assignments. He said he would like to make a couple of suggestions with regard to the Center (National Office). He said the most urgent task is to find some work for GIL (GREEN). He noted that GIL could fill many posts and that this creates a problem. He said there is the question of "The Worker" and the reassigning of Comrade JACKSON (JAMES) with GIL becoming the Editor. He said there was some questions raised in connection with taking over the legislative and political action field, and thirdly the question of educational work with specific responsibility with regard to the youth cadre.

HALL elaborated that in his opinion the most important field is the educational work because in many ways it is most crucial for the future of the party. He said they must consider a massive program and approach to the training of cadre, especially youth. A few years ago we did not have the youth around us to train, but now for some time that has not been the problem. We do have youth around, but we are not training them. He said it was impractical to think that HY (LUMER) could handle that responsibility as well as his other responsibilities regarding "Political Affairs" and other general political assignments. HALL said it was his thinking that in the coming period GIL (GREEN) should take on two specific assignments as a major task as well as other political assignments, such as the rest of us carry out.

Continuing HALL remarked that he would like to put the Party Program on a full-time basis, and that after the first of the year ask [redacted] to come in for a month or two to work with GIL on this question. Secondly, that GIL should take the educational field in hand and develop the kind of cadre training and program that it calls for.

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HALL said there is also the question of WINNIE's (HENRY WINSTON) assignments. WINSTON has without formal discussion taken on a number of very important assignments and has been most helpful. HALL stated that because of the legal problems "we do not raise it now" but more and more we have an understanding that WINNIE acts like a National Chairman. HALL said that WINNIE should continue giving the attention that he has in the organizational field and WINSTON himself would like to continue in the area of press and circulation problems. HALL also stated that a third area of responsibility WINSTON has would be the question of the Negro Commission. HALL noted that when CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) is in Chicago, WINSTON can follow through on many questions.

In concluding his remarks HALL said that he would continue in the area that he has given more and more time to, that is international relations or whatever you wish to call it. He said that as far as the Secretariat is concerned, CARL (WINTER) and GIL (GREEN) are both considered to be members.

CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) remarked that political action and legislative work is going to be one of our prime activities. He suggested that a division of work should be planned between HALL and WINSTON, and that the two of them should work closely together.

HALL in answer to LIGHTFOOT stated that he was most anxious concerning the educational question. He said that they must approach "The Worker" on the idea of change and for bettering him, but not on the basis of changing the editorship at the present time. He said there should be further discussion on "The Worker" at a later date in efforts to determine how it can be improved upon.

HALL stated that HY (LUMER) will continue as Editor of "Political Affairs" as well as his other general political assignments. He said that HELEN (WINTER) has done a good job solving some of our knotty problems. He felt that she would be extremely helpful in the organizational and personnel field.

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GIL GREEN commented that with regard to the educational field HELEN (WINTER) could do a better job than he could. He said that he did not intend to be "bottled up" at 23 West 26th Street, but rather would prefer to get out and see people.

Continuing, GREEN stated that with regard to the Party Program the leadership has to get together in order to find a common approach. He said that he would take the assignment, but there was a lot more to it than just organizing classes and concluded by remarking that he did not believe that they had made a breakthrough with regard to youth.

HY LUMER noted that because of his assignment on "Political Affairs" he has not been able to do any serious work in the educational field even though it was a most worthwhile undertaking. He noted that they do not have any organized program at the present time and that the classes and schools are run in a "very haphazard manner."

LUMER stated that seminars and forums are important segments in the educational field. He noted that the Educational Director would go far beyond just the educational field. He stated that BETTY (GANNETT) took all the editing and technical work with regard to "Political Affairs" and that if he were relieved of his educational work, "Political Affairs" could be dovetailed in with other work. He also noted that BETTY (GANNETT) unofficially runs the New York school. He concluded his remarks by saying that he agreed with the comments made by GIL with regard to the program, and said there was a need for a program committee in order to set up a program for education.

CARL WINTER commented that AIMS (American Institute for Marxist Studies) has to be brought under the direction of this body...He said the same is true with regard to "our publishing houses" and other forms that are chaotic now. He noted that there was no central plan or purpose and this would be the job that GIL needs to do as Educational Director.

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Continuing, WINTER remarked that he doubted the wisdom of "GIL and I in the Secretariat." He noted that it caused the Secretariat to get too big and become more like a board. He said there was a need for a flexible Secretariat in order to operate.

HENRY WINSTON commented that what CARL has said remains the key question and would suggest that they do not put the question of change in "The Worker." He said "The Worker" is not JIM's cup of tea (JAMES JACKSON). He indicated that a change here would create problems, but that the basic changes in "The Worker" have to be made in terms of content, length of articles, layout and the like.

He said there is no question what GIL could do, but that he should not be proposed at this time. (Apparently referring to GREEN's taking over as Editor of "The Worker.") WINSTON stated further that the educational work proposal is good. He stated that "Political Affairs" is an organ of the National Committee of the Party, the National Board of the Party sets policy and education will be the heart of our work.

WINSTON inquired whether it would not be wise to establish a resident board for the Party to meet weekly as a small Secretariat. The Secretariat could meet weekly and the board every two weeks. WINSTON concluded his remarks by saying that he would like to work with the organization and Negro Commissions plus the circulation of "The Worker."

GUS HALL noted that they had many problems to resolve and noted that there has been much duplication of efforts with regard to the various commissions. He said efforts must be made to untangle this. In commenting in regard to the Cultural Commission he said JEROME (V. J.) be in charge of it, but that he would be part of a collective however.

GIL GREEN commented that he did not want to be rushed into anything, but rather he would prefer to think about it for a time.

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HALL said that he would like to propose that they consider [redacted] (possibly [redacted] as the Foreign Editor. HALL said that he can travel, writes boldly and speaks Russian. HALL also commented that [redacted] speaks French and Spanish and they should consider her for Latin America...

[redacted] stated that there has been some discussions on the need to establish functioning commissions in order to draw more people into the work and add greater initiative in many fields. He noted that both he and WINSTON have spent a considerable amount of time on how to proceed. He said that the "org Ed" Commission has been meeting monthly. The main problem is to improve quality of the work. The "org Bu" has a membership and has been functioning once a week, but again it is a question of the quality of the work. He noted that CARL (WINTER) is working on the re-establishing of a commission. (Apparently referring here to the Trade Union Commission.) The Youth Commission is functioning once a month, but there was a need for replacements. [redacted] felt that he should remain on this commission, but not on the Executive Committee. Apparently in referring to the Youth Commission, [redacted] stated that it would be good if every third or fourth meeting a person from the Midwest and the Farwest could attend. He said the West Coast had proposed that they would finance a person to attend these meetings.

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Informant advised that GUS HALL interrupted [redacted] to remark that it should not be necessary for the Commission (Youth Commission) to meet in New York all the time. HALL agreed that an individual from the Midwest and Farwest could come in on occasion to attend these meetings. HENRY WINSTON commented that with regard to the budget, it could be worked out. HALL at this point remarked that it has to be worked out in order for the commission to have a national character. He also commented that the youth can use a cheaper form of transportation.

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[redacted] then continued and commented on the Negro Trade Commission. He said it is a functioning commission and the proposal is that Comrade PATTERSON be made Chairman.

LIGHTFOOT then remarked that he would like to propose that the districts on the Eastern seaboard should come in to attend these meetings. He said he would also like to propose that they put two or three people on the commission from San Francisco and Los Angeles. LIGHTFOOT said he would like to think in details of [redacted] coming in at least twice a year rather than [redacted] and [redacted] rather than [redacted]

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HALL suggested that perhaps they might rotate. He also said he was wondering why this commission has a steering committee. Informant advised that apparently no one answered HALL's question with regard to the steering committee.

[redacted] said he would next like to comment with regard to the defense and civil liberties. He said they were the last committees to be established and it is his understanding that they have not met for a long period of time. [redacted] felt that the question here was to establish a fresh commission and that [redacted] might be placed on the commission and serve as secretary.

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HENRY WINSTON said he would like to ask what "our" position is with regard to [redacted]. HALL apparently in answer to WINSTON's question commented that ARNOLD (JOHNSON) was going to meet with her.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT commented that if it was necessary to get rid of [redacted] then they should go ahead and do it. GUS HALL replied that she was a member of the National Committee and that they have not removed her. HALL noted that if you wished to remove her (from the National Committee) then others become involved, so that "you can't just remove her." HALL indicated that [redacted] [redacted] might be drawn into the picture and in this manner find a solution.

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[redacted] next discussed the Latin American Commission. He indicated that they did not name a Chairman or Secretary, but that JOE BRANDT was to pull it together but never did. Informant advised that at this point [redacted] utilized the added security of the blackboard as to the Chairman of this commission, but that this information was not available to the informant.

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Discussion was had concerning the Women's Commission and it was stated there was a need for a Chairman and Secretary. GUS HALL suggested that they consider HELEN (WINTER) as she exhibited a great deal of interest on this question a year ago.

[redacted] stated that with regard to the Cultural Commission it has been proposed that V. J. (JEROME) bring in proposals and be Chairman. HY LUMER said that he would take the responsibility to talk to V. J. about accepting the responsibility of being Chairman, but that he was reluctant to do so. HENRY WINSTON apparently in answer to HY LUMER's comment about his reluctance to speak to JEROME stated that they have to remove subjectiveness from the Party especially so on the national level.

LUMER commented that he still does not feel that it will function organizationally with him as Secretary, to which WINSTON replied that they should get it going first and then see.

LIGHTFOOT said that he agreed with WINNIE that they must try it adding "we got nothing there now."

RUBIN said that in the Ed Committee (Educational) HY (LUMER) is Chairman. In literature and publications WILL (WEINSTONE) is Chairman. He indicated that additional members were HY (LUMER), JIM ALLEN, JOE NORTH, and [redacted] from the bookstore [redacted]. He said that in public relations there is ARNOLD (JOHNSON), [redacted] MIKE DAVIDOW and a guy in professional.

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[] then discussed trade unions. CARL (WINTER) interrupted to state that he would want to propose a small body that would meet twice a month and call special conferences by industry or regions.

Informant advised that due to the added security of the blackboard further discussion on this point was not available.

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GIL GREEN next discussed an election document which he apparently was preparing. He stated that the situation in the ranks of the left is not good. Notwithstanding a growing ferment among thinking people, a growing realization of what has been termed "The Triple Revolution" will require answers more fundamental than that approached by any previous generation. He said that the left finds itself weak, fragmented and all too often at odds with itself. The long period of McCarthyite persecution has also left insidious marks and past left errors still cast long shadows through which it is often difficult for some to see how tremendously great have been the left contribution to American life.

A new left is arising, one that will have digested all the lessons of the past, positive and negative and apply these to the new times and the new conditions of struggle.

In this election campaign the CP played a very important role. It helped bring clarity and unity to the ranks of the left and made huge contributions to the victory that came. Seeing the danger of the ultra right long before the brazen coup d'etat at the Cow Palace, the CP was prepared for the specific nature of the 1964 election struggle as it developed. However, those sections of the left which had ridiculed the idea of a ultra right menace were caught completely unaware of the ultra right bid for power....The time for discussion in the ranks of the left is here for evaluation, representing clarity and unity. Every section of the left knows that a basic regrouping is indispensable and is inevitable. The day will come when socialist minded people, trade unionists and progressive generally will have a major electoral party of their own representing their combined interests and not that of state capitol.

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GREEN stated that the regrouping taking place is still within the framework of the institutionalized two party system. So long as the people see a concrete tangible difference between the two parties, they will continue to cast their votes for the one which is somewhat better, or to put it another way somewhat less worse.

Now that the elections are over the responsibility of the left is to achieve clarity as to their meaning and lessons....In addition to the past, the most immediate mass question is a need to press for the further reduction of world tensions and an end to the Cold War against the Soviet Union-China and Cuba.

GREEN said that he would also list a number of domestic matters. He admitted that the document he was preparing was perhaps too long and very likely there was a lot that he had left out, but that he had wanted to present his basic ideas for fuller discussion.

Following the reading of GREEN's document, GUS HALL commented that it was a basis for a good document and suggested that it be used primarily as a rough draft.

HENRY WINSTON commented that the draft appeared to him to be good, but felt that the whole question of the left should be made much sharper. He inquired as to what was the left that GREEN referred to. He asked are you talking about socialist forces or are you talking as you put it, something new that is arising. WINSTON noted that Trotskyites "P.L." (Progressive Labor Movement) also spoke of the left, but their concept has nothing to do with the CP. He said "we" conceive all this left as not being isolated from this new development, but as part of the help to facilitate it.

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GUS HALL took exception to GREEN's remark that the state of the left is not good. HALL said that in one sense it is true, but that the left did play an outstanding role in the Negro liberation movement in this election. He felt that a misunderstanding might arise if it were phrased in that manner.

ROBERT THOMPSON commented that the document was too long and felt that long documents of this type when handed out at meetings never get read.

The discussion closed with [redacted] commenting that perhaps they could say the left in the US has new vitality and life. He recommended taking the positive views and then say the lack of unity and internal problems come within that framework. GIL GREEN closed the meeting by stating that it would best be handled in the manner referred to by [redacted]. Meeting adjourned.

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SAC, NEW YORK

12/9/64

SA

[Redacted]

(46)

ERDINE ANTONSEN
SM-C

Identity of Source

[Redacted]

Description of info

Miscellaneous info re
ERDINE ANTONSEN.

Date Received

11/19/64

Original Located

[Redacted]

A copy of informant's report follows:

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- 1 - New York [Redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-142520 [Redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-152309 [Redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-147652 [Redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-152320 [Redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-153249 (COMINFIL, S.I. CORE) (41)
- 1 - New York 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York 100-54303 (46)

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VJS:poc
(8)

100-153735-734

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
DEC 9 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

[Handwritten signature]

On November 13, 1964, a meeting of some members of the Staten Island Chapter, CORE, was held in a printing shop operated by [redacted] Staten Island, New York.

The meeting had been called by [redacted] to discuss the future of the Freedom School operated under the auspices of CORE. Among those present at this meeting were [redacted], and [redacted] married daughter, [redacted],

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[redacted] said that the Freedom School had not worked out the way she thought it would. The children who attend the school on Saturday mornings, go to their regular school 5 days a week, and evidently have little interest on going to school on Saturday.

[redacted] said that she is interested in older pupils and would like to have the same type of school for young adults. The teachers and subjects taught would be the same as for the smaller children. The students would study about other countries and their forms of government. According to [redacted] it would be named the International Educational Club.

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SAC, Los Angeles (100-66078)

12/9/64

Director, FBI (100-442629)

CIRM

Re: Airtel dated 11/25/64, captioned "National Committee for the Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC), IS-C, ISA of 1950."

Referenced airtel sets forth the names of seven individuals who are available as speakers on behalf of the NCAHUAC. Included on this list is Wyatt [redacted] who was formerly closely associated with Martin Luther King, Jr., in the operation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

Los Angeles is requested to prepare a letterhead memorandum captioned "Communist Influence in Facial Matters," containing appropriate documentations of the individuals listed as speakers and any other available data regarding [redacted] activities on behalf of the NCAHUAC. Atlanta will furnish data pertaining to [redacted] past connections with King for inclusion in this letterhead memorandum. New York should furnish Los Angeles any current data regarding [redacted] activities in view of his residence in the New York City area.

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- 1 - Atlanta (100-6670)
- ① - New York (100-153735)

*NY lead
handle by ALT
JMC*

100-153735-735

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DEC 10 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Date: 12/9/64

Date received 12/4/64	Received from (name or symbol number) [Redacted]	Received by SA [Redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person
 by telephone
 by mail
 orally
 recording device
 written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated: _____ to _____

Transcribed: _____

Authenticated:
by Informant _____

Date of Report

11/22/64

Date(s) of activity

11/22/64

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Brief description of activity or material

NY CORE activities, Harlem, NYC.

File where original is located if not attached

[Redacted]

Remarks:

- 1 - [Redacted] (43)
- 1 - NY 100- [Redacted] (43)
- 1 - NY 100- [Redacted] (43)
- ① - NY 100-153735 (CORE) (43)
- 1 - NY 100-79303 (CORE) (43)

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HPL:mjc
(5)

Block Stamp

100-153735-736

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NY 100-79303

(Information furnished by informant, as reflected above, is set forth exactly as furnished, except for necessary corrections in spelling and punctuation.)

NY CORE 11/22/64
5 Columbia University Students
Photograph Harlem

West 125th Street

Sunday morning, 10:00, there were five students from Columbia University to photograph Harlem. They were to meet at New York CORE, 125th Street office. [redacted] of New York CORE Youth Group, arrived late, at about 11:45. There was only one Columbia University student out of the five that was supposed to be there and this student was not from the US, but from some other country. This student was white. This student was there until about 12:00.

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Two more people came in the office. A Negro fellow came to go to the demonstration in Tenafly, New Jersey, but didn't know the demonstration was cancelled. A girl came in, a white girl. Her name is [redacted] She is in charge of the office. [redacted] said the five Columbia University students would probably set up another time.

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-10-82475-1 GPO

File 100 153735-778 Date 5-3
Class Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial: Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
Bufile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To

From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
December 11, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NY 157-1036

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-02-2011

Re: Proposed Boycott of New York
City Schools by City-Wide Committee
for Integrated Schools
February, 1965
Racial Matters

An article in the Sunday News, December 6, 1964, page 90, set forth information concerning the above proposed boycott. The following is quoted from the article:

"The Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools plans to force the closing of some 'segregated' junior high schools and some of the special 600 schools next month, the Rev. Milton A. Galamison, leader of two school boycotts, reported yesterday.

"Previously the committee had announced plans to boycott 31 'segregated' junior highs and most of the 23 special 600 schools, which are for disturbed youngsters, beginning Feb. 3.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-153735-739

Searched _____
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Proposed Boycott of New York City
Schools by City-Wide Committee for
Integrated Schools, February, 1965

"But several will be shut down before Feb. 3," Galamison said yesterday. "We have done the preparatory work at some of the schools."

"The 14 organizations constituting the Citywide Committee will enjoy autonomy, he explained, so in all boroughs except Staten Island some of the outfits may decide to boycott an elementary rather than a junior or senior high. He refused to disclose what schools will be made the targets.

"Additionally, the clergyman disclosed, the committee has lodged a new demand with the Board of Education. Some 200 Negro and Puerto Rican teachers should be promoted 'immediately' to supervisory positions, the committee said."

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on November 12, 1964 and December 8, 1964, furnished the following information:

On Thursday, November 5, 1964, a meeting was held at Siloam Presbyterian Church, Jefferson Avenue and Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, sponsored by Reverend Milton A. Galamison, pastor, bringing together various civil rights groups in order to obtain a commitment of support from each group with emphasis on integration in schools. About 150 people attended this meeting. Among the groups participating in the discussion at this meeting were the following:

Equal
The Parents Workshop
Brooklyn College Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Du Bois Club of Brooklyn
Harlem Parents Committee
New York CORE
Drug and Wholesalers Union
City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools

Proposed Boycott of New York City
Schools by City-Wide Committee for
Integrated Schools, February, 1965

A characterization for the Du Bois Clubs of America is attached hereto. Confidential sources utilized in this characterization have furnished reliable information in the past.

Reverend Galamison gave a short talk and stated something must now be done to promote school integration; Galamison set forth a three point proposal to the groups attending for approval of each group as follows:

1. Freezing of the construction program for schools.
2. Issuance of a city-wide timetable for school integration.
3. Advancement of approximately 165 Negro school teachers to supervisory positions in the school system.

Galamison asked that each group back these demands when they are submitted to the Board of Education, Brooklyn, New York. He stated that action on the demands might be obtained by education of the public and issuance of propoganda, or by direct action as follows:

Shutting down of the 23 "600 schools" in New York City, which are the schools for problem children.

Shutting down of the 31 "segregated" high schools, which could be done one by one, according to Galamison.

Permitting independent action of the civil rights groups to achieve these aims.

Proposed Boycott of New York City
Schools by City-Wide Committee for
Integrated Schools, February, 1965

February 3, 1965 was the date set for the
boycott to implement the above program.

On Thursday, December 3, 1964, at 9 p.m., a
meeting was held at Siloam Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn,
New York, chaired by Galamison, with about 50 individuals
present. This meeting was termed "operation shut-down."

A representative of CORE, Brooklyn Chapter,
announced that a meeting of his group had been held and
one hundred dollars was pledged by them to "operation
shut-down." This CORE representative further stated that
his group had proposed the following action:

1. An intensive fund-raising drive.
2. Distribution of printed fliers to educate
parents, teachers, and children of "operation shut-down" and
solicit their participation.
3. Follow-up of such distribution by door-to-door
bell-ringing to organize parents and students for participation
and support.
4. Plans for picketing sites of school projects
where "segregated" schools are to be constructed, and blocking
them with "bodies."

Galamison asked all supporting organizations
and groups to pledge one hundred dollars following the
example of Brooklyn CORE. It was stated by a member
present at this meeting that Harlem, New York City area
was solidly behind "operation shut-down" and that the
plans were being discussed concerning using absentee
students for disruptive tactics, such as sending them
into prominent department stores.

Proposed Boycott of New York City
Schools by City-Wide Committee for
Integrated Schools, February, 1965

An unidentified Negro girl, representing Frederick Douglass Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), announced that she was personally in full support of "operation shut-down" but her leaders had ordered her to withdraw their names as NAACP would not support "operation shut-down."

Detective [redacted] Bureau of Special Services,
New York City Police Department, furnished the following
information December 8, 1964:

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Galamison was the guest speaker at a meeting of the Queens Association for Quality Integrated Education, held Sunday, December 6, 1964, at the First Presbyterian Church, 89-60 164th Street, Jamaica, New York. The gist of Milton Galamison's speech was that he is setting a timetable for desegregation of New York City Public Schools. He referred to demands he is making on the Board of Education to attain racial balance in the schools which demands must be met by February 3, 1965 or resort will be had to a third school boycott, which, this time, would be in the nature of a school "shut-down." Galamison mentioned as direct targets of his "shut-down" the 23 New York City "600" schools, which are schools set apart for "problem children" and also certain city junior high schools, allegedly segregated.

A question arose at the meeting as to what was to be done with the children from these city schools, thus set free on the streets. Galamison stated that some 50,000 students would be involved and they could be used for boycotts and demonstrations against the people responsible for the situation.

1.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding convention it was voted that the organization should be temporarily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although no specific physical location was decided upon. This same source advised on June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco, which is the headquarters of the W.E.B. DuBois Club of San Francisco.

Both sources have advised that at the founding convention two officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS - President
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE - Publications Chairman

A third source has advised that on October 26, 1962, PHILIP DAVIS attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter for the "People's World" newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/11/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-34)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1036)

SUBJECT: CHANGED
 PROPOSED BOYCOTT OF NYC SCHOOLS
 BY CITY-WIDE COMMITTEE
 FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS
 FEBRUARY, 1965
 RACIAL MATTERS
 (OO:NY)

Title is marked "changed" to correspond with the date of the proposed boycott of NYC schools in February, 1965.

Re NY teletype to Bureau, 12/6/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 3 copies of LHM in above case. LHM is classified "~~C~~ Confidential" to protect the identity of [redacted]. Unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by this informant might impair his effectiveness and such impairment would have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests.

This matter is being followed by the NYO and additional details will be furnished to the Bureau as received.

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b7C
b7D

Detective [redacted] furnished information herein to SA [redacted]

- 4 - Bureau (157-6-34) (ENCLS 3) (RM)
 (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 3 - New York (157-1036)
 (1 - 100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
 (1 - 157-892) (RACIAL SITUATION NY) (42)

VJA:mrk
(3)

100-153735-740

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